Eighteenth Century Egypt:

The Arabic Manuscript Sources

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The Arabic Manuscript Sources

Edited by

Daniel Crecelius

California State University, Los Angeles

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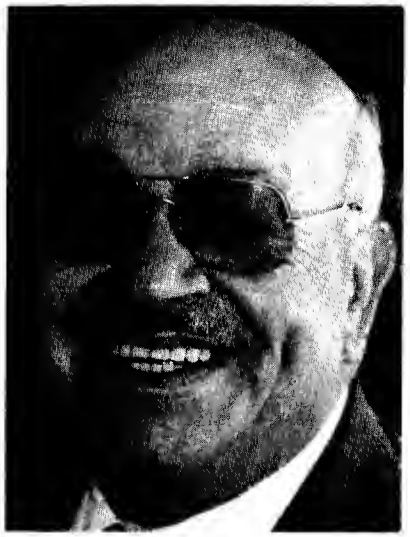

Butrus Abd al-Malik

In grateful appreciation for
Outstanding Teaching and Scholarship
in the Department of History,
California State University, Los Angeles
1969-1990

Outstanding Professor Award – 1973
Statewide Outstanding Professor Nominee – 1985
Council of Education, National Silver Medal – 1985
Council of Education, National Gold Award Nominee – 1986
Dictionary of International Biography – 1990

This work is dedicated to Butrus Abd al-Malik who in 1990 retired from California State University, Los Angeles after a distinguished career of teaching and scholarship spanning 55 remarkable years.

Born in Asyut, Egypt May 3, 1909, Abd al-Malik received his B.D. in 1931 from the Evangelical (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary in Cairo, his Th. M. degree from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1933, an M.A. degree from Princeton University in 1934 and his Ph.D. from Princeton on his birthday, May 3, 1935. He then returned to Egypt and in September, 1935 married Eugeenie Khilla Zaky, with whom he has shared a lifetime of blessed companionship. Their four children, two boys and two girls, all live in the United States.

His first teaching position was as a professor of Bible and Translation at Asyut College from 1935-37. He returned to Cairo as Resident Professor, then Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Studies, at the Evangelical (Presbyterian) Seminary in Cairo from 1937-48. He was Professor of Semitic Languages and later Professor of Arabic Studies at the American University in Cairo from 1948-69, during which time he became well known to a broad spectrum of students and scholars from the Middle East, Europe and the United States who eagerly sought out his classes at the university.

Having established an international reputation for scholarship and instruction early in his career, Professor Abd al-Malik was frequently invited to affiliate with university programs in the United States. From 1955-56 he was a visiting professor at the Hartford Theological Seminary and Hartford University, Connecticut. On this trip he received in 1956 an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Westminster College in New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. From 1960-63 he was a visiting professor of Arabic at Princeton University. In 1963 he received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Ricker College in Maine. From 1969-70 he was an Outstanding Visiting Professor at California State University, Los Angeles which, aware of his rare teaching ability and outstanding scholarship, induced him to accept a full time position as Professor of History.

In the subsequent 20 years of affiliation with our university he taught an incredible range of well-received courses in the departments of History, Philosophy, and Foreign Languages. His popular courses on the religions of the Hellenistic period, on Old and New Testament history, and on the Life and Times of Jesus Christ helped to lay the foundations for a new program the History Department founded in religious studies. In 1973 the university gave him the Outstanding Professor award and in 1985 named him its candidate in the statewide Outstanding Professor competition. In 1985 he received the Silver Medal from the Council for Advancement and Support of Education and in 1986 was the university's nominee for the Gold Medal award to the same organization.

It did not take long for Professor Abd al-Malik's reputation to spread into the community served by California State University, Los Angeles. In the years since coming to Los Angeles he has offered both individual lectures and special series of lectures to numerous organizations and service clubs. He has also reached wider audiences through numerous radio and television appearances. On average, he has given approximately 40 lectures per year to southern California audiences and to organizations across the United States. He has also strengthened programs at area colleges and theological seminaries by offering expert language instruction in Arabic, Biblical Greek and Hebrew on their campuses.

It is difficult to avoid hyperbole when presenting an account of the teaching record of Professor Abd al-Malik. Mention must first be made of the wide range of knowledge he brings to the classroom. Since coming to California State University, Los Angeles he has offered courses in World History, Introduction to Religious Studies, Comparative Religions, Byzantium, Islamic History, Islamic Philosophy, Ancient Egypt, Ottoman History, the Ancient Middle East, Hellenistic religions, the Arabs in Spain and Europe, Old Testament History, the Alexandrian Age, New Testament History, Arabic, the Life and Times of Jesus Christ, and the early Christian church. While the list is not complete, it nevertheless portrays a striking breadth of scholarship and knowledge, and it must be added that these courses have been equally well received by Christian, Jewish, and Muslim students, a difficult feat to accomplish during the recent decades of tension and division.

Students could easily be intimidated by such knowledge, but one of Professor Abd al-Malik's great classroom strengths is his ability to dispel such ungrounded fear. Humility and personal charm go a long way in this process, but the reasons for his success as a teacher are by no means obvious. He certainly makes very clear his respect for knowledge and the search for truth and he holds students in high regard, treating them with deference and traditional Middle Eastern courtesy. He remembers their names even after many years—and the names of spouses and children. Students have been captivated by him, followed him from course to course, and when an absence has been dictated it has not been unusual for students to send a substitute so that not a single lecture is missed. At the end of term students in his classes have given him standing ovations, presented written testimonials or plaques, and have held parties in evidence of their

recognition that they have been in the presence of a learned man and a true teacher.

Professor Abd al-Malik has helped to complete the training of two generations of students in a variety of settings and over a broad range of disciplines. Scholars who are now well established professionals in their respective fields came to Cairo from Europe, the Middle East and the United States to study with him subjects ranging from semitic languages to ancient and biblical history. A large number of American graduate students in Middle Eastern studies benefited from his outstanding instructional skills in modern Arabic at Princeton and during intensive summer sessions; many resumed their studies with him at the American University in Cairo following his return there. His new and dynamic techniques helped to raise the standards of Arabic instruction in the United States and laid the foundation for the emergence of new teaching methods at several prestigious universities.

After having prepared himself in his early years with the linguistic, etymological and paleographic skills necessary for a great undertaking, he devoted a lifetime to the service of his church and fellow man through his internationally renowned research and teaching. He is respected internationally as a scholar of the Bible, an authority on early church history, as a linguist of the Arabic language, and as a humanistic professor. His work crosses many fields, such as Biblical studies, ancient history, comparative Biblical linguistics, comparative Muslim-Christian theology, Muslim and Christian philosophy, semitic languages, and Byzantine and medieval Islamic history. He has mastered each of these fields, left his scholarly impact on them, and created a cadre of scholars to continue his work in each of these areas. Many of his students are scattered in prestigious universities throughout Europe, North America, and the Middle East, but legions of others in professional fields and private life remember fondly their association with this compassionate and loving educator.

His service to his church led him to undertake no less a task than to singlehandedly produce a modern Arabic translation of the Bible from original Hebrew and Greek sources. This work of love and erudition has taken a lifetime and has led to numerous other publications in the area of Biblical studies.

Among his published works that demonstrate the wide range of his interests and erudition are:

The New Testament. Beirut and Cairo: The Bible Society, numerous editions.

The Book of Proverbs, The Book of Psalms, and *The Book of Job*. Beirut and Cairo: The Bible Society, numerous editions.

Coauthor with Philip K. Hitti and Nabih Amin Faris, *Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938.

Contributor of the entire letter "A" to the *Qamus al-Kitab al-Muqaddas*. Beirut: The Bible Society, 1964.

Chief Editor, *Qamus al-Kitab al-Muqaddas* (A Dictionary of the Bible), which has gone through 14 printings and is in its sixth edition.

Contributor of articles on "Arabia" and "Egypt" in *The Biblical World: A Dictionary of Biblical Archeology*. Grand Rapids: 1966.

Nida al-Hurriya (The Declaration of Liberty). Cairo: 1939.

al-Ni'ma al-Mutafadila (Abundant Grace). Cairo: 1947.

Iklil al-Birr (The Crown of Righteousness). Cairo: 1947.

Fi 'l-Qitar (In the Train). Cairo: 1958.

Minbar al-Kulliya (The College Pulpit). Cairo: 1961.

Cotranslator, with Daniel Crecelius, of the first 210 pages of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan al-Jabarti's *'Aja'ib al-Athar fi 'l-Tarajim wa 'l-Akhbar* (Marvelous Biographies and Histories), forthcoming.

He is also the author of over 50 articles, mostly on Biblical, religious-linguistic and historical topics.

Professor Abd al-Malik is additionally an ordained Presbyterian minister who has served the campus community and the churches of the surrounding area in numerous capacities. He has been a member of the campus ministry since arriving on the Cal State Los Angeles campus, has offered annual series of well-attended lectures on Biblical history at various area churches, has taught Bible classes at local churches on Sundays, and given innumerable sermons from local pulpits. He has been sought after to

consecrate the marriage bonds of university colleagues and to baptize the children of associates.

He is truly beloved by all those within the university and the local community who have come to know him. These conference papers are therefore dedicated to Butrus Abd al-Malik as a small recognition of the innumerable ways in which he has enriched our lives, uplifted our spirits, and offered us through words and deeds a shining example of a true scholar and outstanding human being.

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Introduction

For too long the reputations of ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Hasan al-Jabarti and his lengthy history, *ʿAja'ib al-Athar fi 'l-Tarajim wa 'l-Akhbar*, have dominated the historiography of eighteenth century Egypt. Jabarti's renown as the most outstanding historian of the Arab world over the last five centuries has cast his shadow over all the other historians of Ottoman Egypt, sometimes totally obscuring the identities of his predecessors. His famous history, both comprehensive and detailed, has overwhelmed the earlier works, none of which was published until recently.[1]

Questions relating to the Egyptian manuscript sources for the Ottoman centuries, particularly the eighteenth century, were not raised until several decades ago. Between 1953 and 1960 David Ayalon of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem published a series of studies on al-Jabarti and the mamluk system which relied heavily on Jabarti's chronicle.[2] Ayalon's highly flattering statements about the value of Jabarti's chronicle and the uniqueness of the historian himself consolidated al-Jabarti's reputation as the most outstanding Arab chronicler of the last five centuries and helped to further obscure the histories of the other authors of that period whose works P.M. Holt brought to scholarly attention in the 1960s.

P.M. Holt of London University published an important article in 1968 in which he presented the first survey of the manuscript histories of

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[1]Jabarti's lengthy works were already appreciated shortly after his death and translated into Turkish and French during the course of the nineteenth century. Because of his antagonism to the tyranny of Muhammad ʿAli's regime, his work was suppressed in its Arabic original until late in the century, when *ʿAja'ib al-Athar* was finally published by the Bulaq Press in four volumes in 1879-80. Muhammad Anis dealt in general with the topic of historians of Ottoman Egypt in his *Madrasat al-Ta'rikh al-Misri fi 'l-ʿAsr al-'Uthmani* (Cairo: 1962). ʿAbd al-Rahim has assiduously been editing the Arabic histories of the Ottoman period. A list of his editions can be found in footnote 1 of his contribution to this conference. Layla ʿAbd al-Latif also published a collection of her essays on sources for the Ottoman period as *Ta'rikh Mu'arrikhu Misr wa 'l-Sham* (Cairo: 1979).

[2]David Ayalon, "Studies in al-Jabarti I: Notes on the Transformation of Mamluk Society in Egypt under the Ottomans," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* III (1960), 148-174, 275-325; "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XV (1953), 448-476, XVI (1954), 57-90; "The Historian al-Jabarti and His Background," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XXIII (1960), 217-250.

Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798) and offered some tentative comments on their interrelationships and chief characteristics.[3]

The issues raised by Ayalon and Holt were not followed up as attention within our field shifted to newly available sources and new approaches. Manuscript histories, which had formed the foundation for Middle Eastern studies for so long, lost a good deal of their value in the eyes of historians when Middle Eastern governments began to open their extensive archival collections. Soon scholars were able to consult rich virgin collections of financial records, *shari'a* court registers, *waqf* documents, and the like. Interest in the manuscript histories in general waned and questions relating to the historiography of these Ottoman chronicles were set aside as a younger generation of scholars began to lead Middle Eastern studies in new directions, towards social and economic studies based on the newly available materials from the archival collections. Only a handful of scholars, such as Muhammad Anis, 'Abd al-Rahim 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Rahim, and Layla 'Abd al-Latif in Egypt, pursued topics relating to the still unexploited manuscript histories for Ottoman Egypt.[4]

Having worked with the chronicles of both al-Jabarti and Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban al-Damurdashi, my interest in many of the topics that Holt and Ayalon first raised decades ago and in the question of al-Jabarti's borrowings from these earlier sources was piqued.[5] In canvassing colleagues engaged in researching the history of Egypt in the eighteenth century I discovered a lively interest in these topics. Although the Ottoman period remains under-researched, I felt that enough new work had been done to warrant a fresh look at the question of the manuscript sources for the history of Ottoman Egypt.

With financial support from the School of Natural and Social Sciences of California State University, Los Angeles and the Binational Fulbright Commission in Cairo, I was able to host an international conference on "Arabic Manuscripts Relating to the History of Eighteenth Century Egypt," March 8-9, 1990 on the California State University, Los Angeles campus. This conference brought together nine scholars who presented papers on assigned topics and exchanged ideas on the issues raised in the papers. The focus was on the historical chronicles of the eighteenth century; *tabaqat*

[3]P.M. Holt, "Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): an account of Arabic historical sources," in P.M. Holt, ed., *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt* (London: 1968), 3-12.

[4]Seepages 3-4 for a list of these chronicles.

[5]See, for instance, Daniel Crecelius, "A Source for al-Jabarti's History of the Late 17th and Early 18th Centuries," *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 145 (Spring, 1989), 7-9; "Masadir Ta'rikh al-Jabarti fi Awakhir al-Qarn al-Sabi' 'Ashar wa Awa'il al-Qarn al-Thamin 'Ashar," *al-Majalla al-Ta'rikhiya al-Maghribiya* 57-58 (July, 1990), 455-462.

literature and the biographical dictionaries of the *'ulama'* were excluded from consideration, as were the manuscript histories of the earlier Ottoman centuries.

Four major objectives of the conference were to reevaluate the work of al-Jabarti from the perspective of the eighteenth century, to bring to the attention of the scholarly world the rich range of still unexploited manuscript sources for the eighteenth century, to examine the genealogical ties among these manuscript histories, and to look for links between Arabic and Turkish sources. The participants addressed themselves to these goals, then raised a new set of questions in their penetrating presentations. Most participants felt it necessary to deal with the question of Jabarti's borrowings from earlier sources. Each participant evaluated the quality of the particular source(s) he or she examined; the sum of their efforts offers a new perspective on the wide range of rich material available in the historical chronicles.

The list of Arabic manuscripts which we now have to work with will surely be expanded in the future as we continue to delve more deeply into the topic of sources. Nevertheless, the following list of manuscripts dealing with the period of the eighteenth century gives a clear indication of the extensive available material that still needs to be studied.

Yusuf al-Mallawani ibn al-Wakil, *Tuhfat al-Ahbab bi man malaka Misr min al-Muluk wa 'l-Nuwwab*, Sohag, Maktabat Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi, Ta'rikh 80; copy in Cairo, Dar al-Kutub, Ta'rikh No. 5623.

Anonymous, no title (referred to as the "Paris Fragment"), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1855.

'Ali al-Shadhili, *Risala fi Waqi'at bayn umara' al-Jarakisa*, ed. 'Abd al-Qadir Tulaymat, "Dhikr ma waqa'a bayna 'askar al-Mahrusa al-Qahira," *al-Majalla al-Ta'rikhiya al-Misriya* 14 (1968), 321-403.

Ahmad Shalabi ibn 'Abd al-Ghani, *Awdah al-Isharat fi man tawalla Misr al-Qahira min al-Wuzara' wa 'l-Bashat*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahim 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Rahim (Cairo: 1978).

Mustafa ibn Ibrahim al-Maddah al-Qinali, *Majmu' Latif yashtamil 'ala Waqa'i' Misr al-Qahira min Sanat 1100 ila Akhir Ta'rikh al-Majmu'*, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS. Hist. Osm. 38.

Mustafa ibn Ibrahim, tabi' al-marhum Hasan Agha 'Azaban al-Damurdashi, *Ta'rikh Waqa'i' Misr al-Qahira*, Cairo, Dar al-Kutub, Ta'rikh 4048.

Anonymous, *Kitab (Majmu') al-Durra al-Munsana fi Waqa'i' al-Kinana*, Bodleian, MS. Bruce 43. A copy exists in the Cambridge University Library, MS. Add. 278, and another copy exists in Munich.

Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban al-Damurdashi, *Kitab al-Durra al-Musana ta'lif al-Amir Ahmad al-Damurdashi*, ed., 'Abd al-Rahim 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Rahim (Cairo: 1989).

Anonymous, *Ta'rikh ma waqi'a fi Misr min ibtida' 'am 1190 hatta Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1198*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. arabe 1856.

'Abdallah al-Sharqawi, *Tuhfat al-Nazirin fi man waliya Misr min al-Wulat wa 'l-Salatin*. It is printed on the margin of Ishaqi's *Akhbar al-Uwal* (Cairo: 1315 A.H.).

Isma'il al-Khashshab, *Tadhkira li Ahl al-Basa'ir wa 'l-Absar ma' Wajh al-Ikhtisar*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. arabe 1958.

Isma'il al-Khashshab, *Khulasat ma yurad fi Ta'rikh al-Amir Murad*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. arabe 1859.

Nicolas al-Turk, *Mudhakirat Niqula al-Turk*, ed. and trans. as *Chronique d'Egypte (1798-1804)* by Gaston Wiet (Cairo: 1950).

'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan al-Jabarti, *'Aja'ib al-Athar fi 'l-Tarajim wa 'l-Akhbar*, 4 volumes (Bulaq: 1297), trans. by Chefik Mansour Bey and others as *Merveilles biographiques et historiques ou Chroniques du Cheikh Abd el-Rahman el-Djabarti*, 9 volumes (Cairo: 1888-1896).

Not all these manuscript histories of the eighteenth century could be surveyed. The rather short and weak histories of the late eighteenth century by Isma'il al-Khashshab and 'Abdallah al-Sharqawi, for instance, were omitted from consideration. Nevertheless, the participants laid bare a much wider range of sources than has yet been exploited by scholars interested in eighteenth century Egyptian history. The Ottoman domination of Egypt did not put an end to the writing of history as some scholars had earlier asserted, so it is no longer appropriate to skip from the historians of the classical Mamluk sultanate (1250-1517) to al-Jabarti when discussing the historiography of the Ottoman period. It is hoped that these conference papers will stimulate further interest in the long neglected manuscript histories of the Ottoman period.

Six of the participants (Raymond, 'Abd al-Rahim, Rafeq, Crecelius, Bakr, Hathaway) cited examples of al-Jabarti's borrowings from earlier

sources. Whereas evidence of borrowings from the works of al-Mallawani, al-Muradi, Ahmad Shalabi ibn 'Abd al-Ghani, and al-Damurdashi was found, it appears that these manuscript histories were still in circulation and that al-Jabarti had a wide range of sources to consult at the end of the eighteenth century. The writing of history and the availability of sources were thus far more extensive than we had previously realized. Most of the question of borrowing was focused on the relationship between these earlier chronicles and al-Jabarti's *'Aja'ib al-Athar fi 'l-Tarajim wa 'l-Akhbar*, but future research might focus on the interrelationships among the chronicles of the first half of the eighteenth century, for it also appears that there are interesting ties within this group.

Certainly the uniqueness of al-Jabarti's *'Aja'ib al-Athar* is reduced by the revelation of the massive borrowings he made from earlier chronicles without attribution and we can now reevaluate his position within a larger framework whose parameters are set by the historians themselves and the chronicles they produced. He now appears at the end of a long line of historians of the Ottoman period (Hathaway) and must have his information on the eighteenth century reviewed in relation to the earlier sources from which he borrowed his account of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and for most of the eighteenth century (Crecelius).

Another question the conference addressed was the interrelationship of Arabic and Turkish sources. Evidence was produced (Hathaway) to suggest an interrelationship between Arabic and Turkish speaking chroniclers and their works. Here, as in many areas the participants explored, more questions arose than were answered. Enough evidence was presented, however, to warrant further research into the intriguing interrelationships between chroniclers relating events from the provincial capitals and court historians in Istanbul. An interesting question of the possibility of bilingual historians, such as 'Abdülkerim, translating from one set of sources, or chronicles, into a second language was discussed, but no conclusions were drawn.

Very little is actually known about the identities or personal situations of the authors of the first half of the eighteenth century. A tentative identification for 'Ali al-Shadhili (Raymond) was made and a good deal more can be deduced about Ahmad Shalabi ibn 'Abd al-Ghani from internal evidence in his chronicle, but virtually nothing is known about Yusuf al-Mallawani ('Abd al-Rahim). Even the ethnic background of al-Mallawani remains in dispute, for participants suggested both an Egyptian ('Abd al-Rahim) and Turkish (Hathaway) identity for this chronicler. Nor can any trace be found in the archival sources of the purported authors of the various Damurdashi manuscripts, of which there are four distinct versions (Bakr, Crecelius). The participants therefore could make no conclusions regarding

the Damurdashi chronicles beyond those suggested by Holt more than two decades ago.

The presentations also revealed that the chroniclers drew from a much wider range of sources than previously understood. Most authors appear to have had the work(s) of their predecessors available to them, as well as official decrees, reports, and other governmental documents. Each provided eye-witness accounts of some of the events he reported, but also included the type of oral traditions that Holt suggested were commonly repeated in the public coffee houses at which many of these histories were recounted. As stated above, some of the authors might even have been able to include material from another range of chronicles and documents from Turkish. We therefore have a lot yet to discover about the methods used by the chroniclers in putting together their accounts, the oral and written sources from which they drew their materials, and the interrelationships among the manuscript sources.

The revelation of close links among the chronicles of the eighteenth century suggests a major question the conference purposely did not raise, that is, the links between the chronicles of the early eighteenth century and those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As we continue to learn more about our sources and expand our understanding of the Ottoman period, it would be useful for someone to explore this topic.

The participants offered papers, which they revised for publication, on the following topics.

The presentation by Jack Crabbs, Jr. of California State University, Fullerton, provides an introduction to the rest of the conference papers. In surveying the major trends of eighteenth century Egypt he remarks the lack of consensus among scholars over such issues as economic and population trends, relations between the foreign military elites and the native population, the condition of the peasantry, and the role of the *'ulama'* as mediators between the foreign rulers and the native population.

André Raymond of the University of Aix-en-Provence presents a careful survey of one of the earliest manuscript histories produced in the eighteenth century, the long forgotten chronicle of ʿAli al-Shadhili on the crisis of 1711. Raymond makes a tentative identification of the author of this manuscript and suggests some comparisons between al-Shadhili's work and the histories of Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani, Mustafa al-Qinali and Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi. He reviews the events of 1711 and elucidates al-Shadhili's contribution to our understanding of these events.

ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim of the Girls' College of al-Azhar University offers a comparison of two major chroniclers of the first half of the eighteenth century, Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani and Yusuf al-Mallawani. ʿAbd al-Rahim extracts as much personal information

about the authors as is revealed in their chronicles and compares their methodologies and styles. He notes that al-Jabarti borrowed heavily from Ahmad al-Shalabi's chronicle, but also provides evidence of some borrowing by al-Jabarti from the work of al-Mallawani. A good deal of dispute still surrounds the identity of al-Mallawani. In her own presentation to the conference, Jane Hathaway, in following Babinger and Brockelmann, suggests that the Turkish chronicler Mehmed ibn Yusuf al-Hallaq who produced *Tarih-i Misir-i Kahire* is the same person as Yusuf al-Mallawani. ʿAbd al-Rahim insists that a version preserved in the library of Sohaj, Egypt is an autograph copy by al-Mallawani himself. Unfortunately, none of the participants in the conference had seen the manuscripts by both al-Hallaq and al-Mallawani, so no definitive statement on the authorship of the two manuscripts was made.

ʿAbd al-Wahhab Bakr of Zagazig University undertook a comparative study of the Damurdashi group of manuscripts. While we have the names of the purported authors of these chronicles, a positive identification with actual officers of the ʿAzaban regiment has been impossible to make. Despite their frequent claim that they were eyewitnesses to the events they recounted, no positive identification of the authors in *shari'a* court records or *waqf* documents has yet been made. These manuscripts contain accounts from earlier chronicles or contemporary histories, incidents that appear common to most of the manuscipts of the period, and even what appear to be oral accounts of heroic exploits. Following P.M. Holt, Bakr suggests that the five known Damurdashi manuscripts form a common family, but his analysis of phrasing and the reporting of events in the manuscripts suggests that while they have much in common they are nevertheless divided into two branches. It remains unclear whether they are the products of four individual officers or whether they are separate versions of an undiscovered *urtext*.

Daniel Crecelius of California State University, Los Angeles demonstrates the heavy borrowing al-Jabarti made from both Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani and Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi. While the chronicle by Ahmad Shalabi, which ends in 1737, was used more frequently by al-Jabarti, there are extensive passages which al-Jabarti borrowed from Ahmad al-Damurdashi's history for the period 1737-1756. Such borrowings force us to reevaluate the significance of al-Jabarti's work for the period before the 1770s when he finally began to collect his own data and to record his own observations.

Abdul-Karim Rafeq of Damascus University surveys three major Syrian sources for the history of eighteenth century Egypt. These are the major travel account of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi from the early part of the century, the biographical dictionary of Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi, and the history dealing with the military campaigns of ʿAli Bey and

Muhammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab in Syria by Hasan al-Shahir bi Ibn Siddiq. Rafeq points out the value of al-Nabulsi's account, explores the relationship between al-Jabarti and the Syrian scholar al-Muradi, suggests an interrelationship between the Egyptian and Syrian biographical dictionaries, and notes the importance of the Syrian chronicles for a full understanding of Egyptian activities in the Syrian region.

Jane Hathaway of Princeton University reviews three early eighteenth century Turkish and Arabic manuscripts and presents a thoughtful reconsideration of chronicle-writing in the eighteenth century. She, too, notes the uncertainty surrounding the authorship of her sources and reconsiders the organizational framework of the so-called "sultan-pasha" genre of manuscript. She examines the links between Arabic and Turkish sources and demonstrates how petitions or reports from the authorities in Cairo to the central government in Istanbul found their way into Turkish and subsequently into court calendars or Turkish histories and how such calendars and histories might have been used by bilingual historians as sources for their Arabic histories of the period. Finally, she places the famous Egyptian historian al-Jabarti within the tradition of eighteenth century Ottoman historiography.

It is fitting that the conference concluded with two papers relating to al-Jabarti, whose reputation by that time needed some rehabilitation. Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot of the University of California, Los Angeles offers a comparison between the histories of Niqula al-Turk, the Lebanese agent who observed the occupation of Egypt by the French from the perspective of a residence in the Egyptian delta, and al-Jabarti, who witnessed the French occupation and their deeds in the capital. Marsot contrasts the personal situations of the two chroniclers, their differing social backgrounds, religions, and nationalities, and offers her own reasons why they provide differing views of the French occupation. She also puts forward her own interpretation for the seeming change in al-Jabarti's attitudes towards the French as demonstrated in his three chronicles of the period.

Thomas Philipp of Friedrich Alexander University, Erlangen, looks once again at the question of the extent to which the ideas of the French Revolution were understood at the time of the French occupation or absorbed into Egyptian consciousness, particularly through al-Jabarti's histories. While rejecting the idea that the new concepts struck root in Egypt at the time, Philipp reiterates the uniqueness of al-Jabarti and the significance of his chronicles, more for the period of the French invasion than for the earlier decades of the eighteenth century. He rejects the idea that comments regarding the French in his three chronicles indicate that al-Jabarti went through any "softening" or conversion in his attitudes towards the French.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MILIEU

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While the other chapters in this book are devoted specifically to the study of eighteenth-century Egyptian historians and their writings, the purpose of the present chapter is (1) to sketch for the reader general political, social, economic, and cultural conditions prevailing in Egypt at that time and (2) to offer some preliminary and tentative assessment of the historical literature that those conditions were able to produce. In the course of this essay it will be seen that there is much disagreement about what life in eighteenth-century Egypt was actually like—disagreement among the sources and also among the contributors to this volume themselves .[1]

The Ottoman era (1517-1798) has traditionally been considered one of the most obscure, gloomy, and "backward" periods in all of Egypt's long history—in short, a Dark Age. Historians have tended to place it (and this is particularly, and understandably, true of Arab writers) somewhere toward the bottom of a centuries-long "decline" of the country, which ended only with the modernization efforts of Muhammad ʿAli. The following assessment is typical:

> [Egypt] turned into a backwater of stagnation and decay. The highly developed irrigation system crumbled under the ceaseless onslaughts of the Bedouin, agriculture degenerated, trade dwindled and, by the end of the eighteenth century, the political institutions of the country had begun to disintegrate, leaving a near-anarchic situation which paved the way for the changes which Muhammad ʿAli later initiated.[2]

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[1]The reactions of the other contributors to this volume to the ideas expressed in this chapter are included in brackets ({}) in the footnotes. They of course appeared initially in the form of comments on this paper as it was presented at the international conference at California State University, Los Angeles March 8-9, 1990. I have identified the source of the comment by name.

[2]David Kimche, "The Political Superstructure of Egypt in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Middle East Journal*, XXII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1968), 448. I myself described the country in a similar manner in my 1984 book *The Writing of History in Nineteenth-Century Egypt: A Study in National Transformation* (Detroit and Cairo:

There is other evidence, however, that indicates that this picture is too simplistic and that Ottoman Egypt may not in fact have been blanketed in darkness, not even during the Ottoman "twilight" of the eighteenth century. By tallying up the number of public baths, caravanserais, construction of new public fountains, and location of tanneries and noble homes, for example, André Raymond has been able to show that, contrary to earlier assumptions by scholars like Marcel Clerget and Janet Abu-Lughod, the population of Ottoman Cairo grew fairly steadily from the sixteenth down through the eighteenth century. Raymond estimates the population in 1800 to have been about 260,000, i.e., 5.8% of the country total of about 4.5 million, which would make the city much larger than in 1517. This population increase may have tapered off a bit after 1700, and especially during the period 1784-95, but Cairo nevertheless continued to grow, in spite of incessant mamluk-Ottoman infighting, plagues, and famine.[3]

Demographically at least, the stereotype of a stagnant eighteenth-century Egypt does not seem to fit. Ottoman Egypt was growing while simultaneously undergoing the above-mentioned serious internal stresses.[4]

Conventional wisdom also has it that the Age of Exploration in the West ruined the economy not only of Egypt but of almost the entire Islamic world, if not immediately then certainly after the passage of several centuries. But if we are to believe the testimony of Joseph Pitts, an English traveller, the Egyptian economy at the beginning of the eighteenth century was quite vibrant. Pitts says that the country contained ample food supplies, an abundance of buffaloes, and cheap eggs and bread. It was the world's prime producer of rice (!) and also produced flax, most types of grain, sugar, linen and hides. It contained few apple, pear and cherry trees but grew a lot of melons and cucumbers.[5]

Wayne State University Press and the American University in Cairo Press, 1984), 36-39.

[3]See Raymond's "La population du Caire et de l'Egypte à l'époque Ottomane et sous Muhammad ʿAli," *Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, Study No. 28 of the Bibliothéque de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes d'Istanbul (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1980), 170-173, 175; and "Essai de géographie des quartiers de résidence aristocratique au Caire au XVIIIème siècle," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (herafter *JESHO*) 6 (1963), 70ff. Raymond notes that Mamluk Cairo was always assumed—without evidence—to have a larger population than Ottoman Cairo due to the "feeling" of historians that it was a more positive period. Raymond, "La population du Caire," 170.

[4]{There was a definite decline in population after 1770.—Crecelius}.

[5]Pitts actually visited the country in 1685-86. See Sir William Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: As Described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and Charles Jacques Poncet* (Nendeln,

Although the evidence is somewhat contradictory, it appears that Egypt's economic position remained strong throughout most of the eighteenth century. The country maintained trade links with Anatolia, Rumelia, Syria, Palestine, the Maghrib and Europe, especially France. Cairo had been known since ancient times as a center for sugar production, although by 1800 many of its sugar merchants had been put out of business by European competition. Trade in coffee (from Yemen to Egypt to Europe and the Ottoman Empire) and in cloth (from the Far East and especially India) was brisk.[6] In the Nile Delta taxes were collected in coin rather than kind, and foreign currencies, e.g., the Spanish dollar masquerading as the riyal, circulated even in the Egyptian countryside. The price of agricultural goods, an obvious mainstay of the economy, rose steadily throughout the eighteenth century, and the tribute that flowed from Egypt into the treasury of the Ottoman central government was more important than that of any other province.[7] Communication links between Cairo and other major Islamic cities were also good, and news travelled fast.[8]

There is some disagreement regarding the condition of Egypt's peasants in the eighteenth century. ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim, basing himself in part on the seventeenth-century poem *Hazz al-Quhuf* by "Abu Shaduf," feels they were ruthlessly exploited and taxed so severely that they were forced to abandon their villages, especially during the last half of the eighteenth century.[9]

Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), 10-11, 14, 17. Pitts' choice of apple, pear and cherry trees is a poor one, since these are cold-climate fruits.

[6]André Raymond, "L'impact de la pénétration européenne sur l'économie de l'Egypte au XVIIIè siècle," *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982), 219-20, 231ff.

[7]Kenneth M. Cuno, "Egypt's Wealthy Peasantry, 1740-1820," in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut: The American University in Beirut Press, 1984), 311, 314-315; and Robert Mantran, "Les relations entre le Caire et Istanbul durant la période Ottomane," *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire: 27 Mars-5 April 1969* (East Berlin: Ministry of Culture of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 1969), 305. {According to Inalcik, Arab revenues were used by Istanbul to fund Ottoman conquests in Europe.—Rafeq. Ibrahim Bey and Murad Bey withheld this tribute during most of their domination of Egypt (i.e., 1775-86, 1792-98).—Crecelius}.

[8]Raymond, "L'impact de la pénétration européenne," 222.

[9]Abdul-Rahim Abdul-Rahim, "The Egyptian Rural Society of the Eighteenth Century," *L'Egypte au XIXè Siècle* (Aix-en-Provence: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), 197, 209-210; and Abd al-Raheim A. Abd al-Raheim [the same author], "*Hazz al-Quhuf*: A New Source for the Study of the Fallahin of Egypt in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries," *JESHO*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (October, 1975), 248 *et passim*. See also his "The Ottoman Rule [sic] and Its Effects on Egyptian Society," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (Tokyo), No. 13 (1977), 74, where he says that, as a result of mamluk conflicts, the *fallahin* lived during the eighteenth century in a state of semi-starvation. {The economy was a shambles.—

This rather gloomy picture of the Egyptian peasantry contrasts sharply with the other evidence, and one wonders whether or not a seventeenth-century satirical poem like *Hazz al-Quhuf*, which was expressly designed to excoriate the ruling classes, can be used as evidence of eighteenth-century conditions. Cuno feels in any case that by 1800 Egyptian rural society was divided into four classes: (1) large landholding peasant families or the *a'yan al-rif*, one of whom was usually the village shaykh, (2) smallholders, (3) those with insufficient land to support a household, and (4) landless peasants.[10] Gibb and Bowen also paint a more optimistic picture, claiming that most irrigated land in Egypt bore two and sometimes even three crops per year. The average village of 2000 feddans in the Fayyum contained 800 sheep. Pigeons and chickens were raised, bees were kept, and each peasant had one or two mules. As is well known, the *iltizam* system was often onerous for the peasants, but in those cases where the *iltizam* had become hereditary, the *multazim* and the peasant had a common interest in maintaining the land's productivity.[11]

The discrepancy between 'Abd al-Rahim's account and the others is perhaps not as great as it might first appear, since even he admits that the economy became depressed only *after* 1750, and on that point he is roughly in agreement with the more detailed studies of André Raymond. Raymond claims that there was general prosperity from 1740-70 but that then the economy began to falter due to European competition, crop failures, inflation, famine and plague. Textile and coffee producers went bankrupt, recently arrived Syrian Christian merchants replaced the Jewish customs agents and engaged in an intense struggle with the French for the control of Egypt's foreign trade,[12] and by 1800 the average value of aristocratic estates had fallen by 40%.[13]

Bakr}. While it is true that the Egyptian economy worsened after 1770, 'Abd al-Rahim provides no proof that this was due to mamluk feuding. He simply assumes it to be the case, as have so many other authors before him. But I will argue here that Ottoman-mamluk quarrels had little impact on Egyptian society overall. See below, pages 13-14.

[10]Thus the nineteenth century *a'yan al-rif* were not the creation of Muhammad 'Ali, as historians have assumed, but rather a class of rich peasant families that already existed during the eighteenth century. Cuno, 324-325. Cuno also points out that since tax collection was inefficient and erratic, much land went unregistered, and, as a result, its *fallah* landholders prospered. *Ibid.*, 315. {There was no actual ownership, only usufrucht, of the land.—Bakr}.

[11]Sir Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I, Part 1, *Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950), 269, 271, 274-275.

[12]On the struggle between the Greek Catholics and the French for the control of this trade, see Daniel Crecelius, "The Attempt by the Greek Catholics to Control Egypt's Trade with Europe in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," in *La Vie sociale dans les provinces arabes a l'epoque ottomane*, edited by Abdeljelil Temimi (Zaghouan: 1988), Vol. 3, 121-132.

There is perhaps one more index of the relative health of the eighteenth-century Egyptian economy which we can look at, i.e., whether or not the country seemed to be an attractive place for foreigners to settle. We would expect that with the economy in shambles foreigners would not choose to take up residence there. What we find, however, is that eighteenth-century Egypt, as so often both in the past and in the present, attracted large numbers of foreigners. Raymond estimates the foreign population of Cairo during the eighteenth century to have been about 10% of the total and to consist mostly of Turks and Maghribis.[14] The English traveller, William Daniel, who visited Cairo around 1700 on his way to Mocha, observed that Moors, Egyptians, Copties [sic], Jews, Greeks and Turks all coexisted seemingly in harmony. Daniel then added somewhat incongruously that each community wore distinctive headgear and that native Egyptians were not very friendly toward foreigners.[15] Finally, Albert Hourani, tracing the lively and varied trade relations that existed from the early eighteenth century between Egypt and Syria, claims that by 1798 Syrians constituted about 2% of the population of Cairo but a much larger proportion of the merchant class. He notes that these same Syrians took over the administration of the customs houses from native Egyptian Jews during the reign of 'Ali Bey.[16]

Thus it would appear that, with some major exceptions as noted above, the eighteenth-century Egyptian economy was healthy—healthy enough in any case to attract large numbers of "foreigners." Even during the troubled period of 'Ali Bey and his immediate successors, Syrian Christians came to

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[13]This information has been taken from the following works by Raymond: (1) "L'impact de la pénétration européenne," 227ff; (2) "Le Caire: Economie et société urbaines à la fin du XVIIIè siècle," *L'Egypte au XIXè Siècle*, 134; (3) "The Sources of Urban Wealth in Eighteenth Century Cairo," in Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (eds.), *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Press, 1977), 186.

[14]Raymond, "L'impact de la pénétration européenne," 221. {These groups were not really "foreigners," although they maintained a separate *'asabiya*.—Raymond. Turks, Maghribis, and Egyptians were all Ottoman citizens.—Bakr}.

[15]Foster, 10-11, 62-63.

[16]{Especially coffee concessions}. Albert Hourani, "The Syrians in Egypt in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire*, 222-223. With 'Ali Bey's connivance, the Syrians (or Greek Catholics, to be more precise) also took control of the customs houses from the Jews. See Thomas Philipp, "Image and Self-Image of the Syrians in Egypt: From the Early Eighteenth Century to the Reign of Muhammad 'Ali," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. II, *The Arabic-Speaking Lands* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982), 170.

Egypt, settled there, and prospered.[17] This fact leads us to believe what some observers have already strongly suspected, namely, that the ongoing military clashes between Egypt's ruling groups were little more than a dross which left much of the rest of the country untouched.[18]

Regarding the political history of eighteenth-century Egypt, it has been dealt with in detail elsewhere and need not long detain us here.[19] We will content ourselves with a few general observations.

If it seems like the mamluks and the Ottomans fought a lot, the city of Cairo itself appears to have been no less turbulent. In 1711 a popular "proto-Wahhabi" preacher brought the Cairo crowds to the boiling point by denouncing the "un-Islamic" practice of praying at the graves of dead Sufi masters.[20] In 1715-16 "rabble" elements forced Cairo's merchants to close their shops. When crowds met up with the Shaykh of al-Azhar riding his mule in January, 1716, they seized him and brought him to the citadel to confront the Ottoman governor. In 1724 the people of Cairo looted marketplaces to protest rising prices. The shaykhs of al-Azhar fled to their homes and locked their doors, and it was left to al-Azhar students to drive back the people with guns and sticks. In 1731 the chief of police was stoned and the newly arrived Ottoman governor wounded by angry crowds. The governor then assembled the *'ulama'*, the Bakri and Sadat families, and the *naqib al-ashraf* and scolded them for taking no action. Their answer was

[17]{This could suggest only that economic conditions in Syria were even worse than in Egypt.—Philipp}. They could have immigrated to Egypt not merely for economic reasons, but because they were a persecuted minority in Syria.

[18]I noted this phenomenon in my book (Crabbs, 34), although it is still a matter of dispute among scholars. Mamluk *beys* lived in the surrounding countryside, away from the tumult of the city. Raymond, "Essai de géographie," 91. Mamluk power struggles resulted in few deaths, and the Egyptian common people were largely unaffected. Kimche, 459. On the other hand, {large portions of Cairo were destroyed during the mamluk-Ottoman wars, and the leader of the mamluk beylicate was definitely a resident of the capital. Absence from the capital usually exposed *beys* to the intrigues of their rivals in Cairo. They therefore sent their subordinates into the provinces to manage their *iltizams*.—Crecelius. The main mamluk residences were within the Cairo city limits.—Raymond}.

[19]Two good brief accounts are P.M. Holt, "Egypt, the Funj and Darfur," in J.D. Fage and Roland Oliver (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Vol. IV (London, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 29-39; and Stanford J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 6-10.

[20]Barbara Flemming, "Die Vorwahhabitische Fitna im Osmanischen Kairo, 1711," *Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşili'ya Armagan* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Başimevi, 1976) 55-65.

that they had been waiting for him to arrive and to do something. In 1733 and again in the 1780s the blind students at al-Azhar rioted.[21]

On the basis of this information, can we say that eighteenth-century Cairo was chaotic? Probably not. Seven urban disruptions in a century (there were probably more) is not exactly chaos; and European travellers visiting Cairo during this time-period claimed that it had less crime and violence than most large European cities and was, in fact, as peaceful as England![22]

It has been said that stability in Ottoman Egypt depended on the cooperation of three competing elites: the Ottoman bureaucracy, the mamluk *beys*, and the leading native Egyptian *'ulama'*.[23] It is also generally assumed that these three groups—Turks and mamluks, on the one hand, representing the sword and native Egyptian *'ulama'*, on the other, the pen—were separated each from the other by an almost unbreachable chasm. Let us now look at the make-up of eighteenth-century Egyptian society to see just what kind of *modus vivendi*, if any, existed between these three competing elites.

It is fitting that we begin with the mamluks, who in the course of the eighteenth century were able to gain undisputed control of the country.[24] In spite of a wealth of material on the mamluks, their position in Egyptian society remains a bit mysterious. This is in part due to the nature of our historical sources, which are not always consistent in their use of terms like Turk, *bey*, *amir*, *ghuzz* (Arabic) or *oghuz* (Turkish), which can also mean mamluk. The more or less traditional view is that the mamluks were an alien caste who erected barriers of separation between themselves, the Turks, and the native Egyptians. This is partially borne out by the fact that immediately after the Ottoman conquest in 1517 the Circassians (i.e., mamluks) were organized into their own military units, told to dress differently from the Turks, and ordered to shave off their beards, *like* the Turks. Scholars like Muhammad Fu'ad Shukri and Abdul-Karim Rafeq have

[21]This information has been taken from Gabriel Baer, who himself extracted it mainly from al-Jabarti. See Baer's "Popular Revolts in Ottoman Cairo," *Der Islam*, Vol. LIV, No. 2 (October, 1977), 218-219, 224, 228-229.

[22]Kimche, 459.

[23]Daniel Crecelius, "The Emergence of the Shaykh al-Azhar as the Pre-Eminent Religious Leader in Egypt," *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire*, 110.

[24]Unless otherwise indicated, the following information has been taken from Michael Winter, "Turks, Arabs and Mamluks in the Army of Ottoman Egypt," *Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 72 (1980), 100ff, 117-122; and by the same author, "The Islamic Profile and the Religious Policy of the Ruling Class in Ottoman Egypt," *Israel Oriental Studies* 10 (1980), 132-135, 137ff.

assumed that the mamluks remained essentially alien,[25] and Gibb and Bowen found themselves at a loss to explain why, by the eighteenth century, the mamluks were still unable to perpetuate themselves beyond the second or third generation when the Turks already had by that time six or seven generations behind them.[26] Other experts such as Mahmud al-Sharqawi, Husayn Fawzi al-Najjar, and more recently Michael Winter, feel that the mamluks were viewed by the Egyptians as "natives." Winter points out that the important factor for Egyptians was religion. The mamluks were viewed as devout and upright Muslims whereas the Turks seemed by comparison almost non-observant. The mamluks were a "popular and admired elite ..., a cherished aristocracy, an integral part of *Awlad al-'Arab* (the Arab people." A lower-ranking mamluk could have any woman he wanted in marriage, whereas even an Egyptian peasant woman would reject the highest Turk. It is not surprising that later historians misunderstood the mamluk position, according to Winter, since even astute contemporaries like the Ottoman admiral, Hasan Pasha, and Napoleon Bonaparte were fooled. Both men based their initial propaganda on the assumption that the mamluks were unpopular and only later discovered their error.

If the place of the mamluks in Egyptian society seems a bit ambiguous, it is even harder to assess the position of the Turk (and of the Turkish language) in Ottoman Egypt. Some scholars indicate that Turks were ridiculed and even despised by native Egyptians.[27] But more light needs to be shed on the subject of Turks vs. Egyptians. The role of the Turkish language in Ottoman Egypt is equally enigmatic. In my book I assumed that the Ottoman conquest of Egypt would intensify the Turkification of the country with direct consequences for the historiography of the period.[28] But Gibb and Bowen take exactly the opposite position, claiming that the Turkish garrisons intermarried generation after generation with native Egyptian women, became completely assimilated, and even forgot their

[25]I am taking Winter's word on Shukri, although in my own study of *Misr fi Matla' al-Qarn al-Tasi' 'Ashar* I found him, following al-Jabarti, commenting favorably on the mamluks. See Crabbs, 55.

[26]{This is simply a myth.—Raymond}. One explanation offered by Gibb and Bowen, 225, n. 4, 226, was that the mamluks did not marry Egyptian women, although by the eighteenth century this had apparently changed.

[27]See, for instance, Gabriel Baer, "Egyptian Attitudes Towards Turks and Ottomans in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Prilozi za orijentalni filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turkskom vladivinom* 30 (1980), 32. Baer used Abu Shaduf's *Hazz al-Quhuf*, a questionable source. See also Gabriel Piterberg, "The Formation of an Ottoman Egyptian Elite in the 18th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (August, 1990), 275-289.

[28]Crabbs, 36-38.

native tongue. Knowledge of Turkish came to be limited to a few high Ottoman officials alone.[29]

The other side of this coin is that all Ottoman decrees were issued and read in Turkish.[30] Based on a story in *Hazz al-Quhuf*, Baer adds that if Egyptians wanted to get ahead or to advance their own interests, they had to learn Turkish.[31] And Joseph Pitts observed that many expressions in common use in Egypt around 1700 were a combination of Arabic and Turkish, e.g., *Tur Dagh* for Mt. Sinai, *aqsham* and *geje namaz* (Turkish + Persian) for evening and night prayers, *saqqa kush* (literally, bird water-carrier) for pelican, and *bin-bir direk* for the Mosque of 1001 Pillars.[32]

On this question the historical record once again contains some contradictions. Let us, so to speak, straddle these contradictions and conclude that there was probably much Turkification of a superficial sort that rested lightly on top of a fundamentally Arabic linguistic base and never really threatened the integrity of that base. Whatever the case may be, it is time now to move on to the third and final elite group in eighteenth-century Egypt, the *'ulama'* or native Egyptian intelligentsia.

A few authors, notably Peter Gran, have tried to argue that Egypt underwent a quasi-enlightenment during the last half of the eighteenth

[29]Gibb and Bowen, 210-211, 225. Mantran, 303, agrees. Winter, on the other hand, claimed that not even the lowliest peasant woman would consent to marry a Turk. The evidence also conflicts on the status of women in general in eighteenth-century Egypt. By examining *waqf* records, Crecelius has shown that women were very active as owners of businesses, agricultural lands, and urban properties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He concludes that "women played an active role in the economic life of their societies." Daniel Crecelius, "Incidences of *Waqf* Cases in Three Cairo Courts," *JESHO*, Vol. XXIX, Part 2 (June, 1986), 180-181. A rather different perspective is offered by our British visitor, Joseph Pitts, who claims that "there is no part of the world, I am apt to think, in which greater encouragement is given to whoredom than in Egypt." Pitts says that in certain quarters of Cairo women sit at their doors in silk robes with knives tucked into their girdles and beckon passers-by to come inside. Slavic female and child slaves are brought to Egypt by Turkish merchantmen and sold in the streets, but they are not required to convert to Islam. Foster, 11-12, 16. How are we to reconcile such a picture with the shock that later Egyptians like al-Jabarti and al-Tahtawi felt at the "loose" behavior of French women? {On the issue of the linguistic Turkification of Egypt itself, Bakr, Rafeq and Raymond all agreed that it simply did not happen.} Their position is borne out by (1) the decentralized style of Ottoman administration, which allowed to each area a large measure of local autonomy, and (2) the elite nature of Ottoman court culture, which was never intended to be shared with the masses.

[30]Winter, "Turks, Arabs and Mamluks", 110.

[31]Baer, "Egyptian Attitudes Towards Turks and Ottomans," 27. {Egyptians needed Turkish for the army and for the administration.—Bakr}.

[32]Foster, 6, 10, 13, 19. {Egyptian historical writings are full of Turkish terms.—Hathaway}.

century.[33] This idea has yet to catch on, however, and the scholarly consensus is rather that the level of knowledge and education in eighteenth-century Egypt was, relatively speaking, quite low. Al-Azhar still retained its medieval reputation as a center of traditional Islamic learning, and study there remained the crowning achievement in the education of leading *'ulama'* from Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Syria, and perhaps even Fez. Cairo was the standard stopping-off point for Maghribi pilgrims, and North African rulers took an interest in the religious and intellectual life of the city.[34] On the other hand, the most powerful cultural impact which Ottoman rule had had on Egypt was in the area of sufism, which by the eighteenth century had become very important indeed; and this, in turn, only served to divert attention to religious affairs at the expense of more worldly concerns. The result was that by 1800 the curriculum of al-Azhar was skewed sharply toward the twin fields of theology and philology.[35]

The eighteenth-century Egyptian *'ulama'* played two important social roles: (1) they were the caretakers of all religious and quasi-religious knowledge, about which they knew a great deal, and (2) they were the defenders of the people against the Ottoman-mamluk ruling groups. In their first capacity the *'ulama'* for the most part simply reinforced long-standing traditions, which was appropriate to an Age of *Taqlid*. This was why in 1711, in contrast to the Turks, they closed ranks with the Egyptian masses against the "new" ideas of our proto-Wahhabi preacher.[36] The problem was that this same spirit of conservatism and devotion to religious affairs resulted in a sharp decline in non-religious forms of knowledge. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, for example, there was still some knowledge of classical Islamic medicine in Egypt, but by the eighteenth century *bimaristans* were being used as hospitals and lunatic asylums more than as medical schools. Knowledge of philosophy, astronomy and mathematics had likewise declined. According to al-Jabarti, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, Ahmed Pasha (1749-50), loved mathematics and asked the *'ulama'* for help in solving certain problems, but none but al-Jabarti's father knew how to proceed. For the Egyptian common man there was at

[33] See Gran's *Islamic Roots of Capitalism: Egypt, 1760-1840* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1979). See also Mantran, 309-310. Mantran mentions Isma'il al-Khashshab as an example of a cultural innovator, which makes no sense at least to this author. For a contrasting view of al-Khashshab, see Gamal el-Din el-Shayyal, *A History of Egyptian Historiography in the Nineteenth Century*, Faculty of Arts, No. 15 (Alexandria: Alexandria University Press, 1962), 14-15.

[34] André Raymond, "Les véhicules: Le pélérinage et le mouvement commercial entre le Maghrib et l'Egypte," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 7 (1959), 351-352, 367.

[35] Crabbs, 37-39.

[36] Flemming, 62.

best the *kuttab*, which taught the Qur'an and elementary reading and writing.[37] The ordinary Egyptian believed in all sorts of crude superstitions, worshipped a sacred goat, and followed slavishly the incantations and prescriptions of sufi shaykhs.[38]

The other major role played by the *'ulama'* was that of mediator between the mamluk-Ottoman ruling groups and the Egyptian people. This has been documented time and again, e.g., by Gamal al-Din al-Shayyal, who in a brief article alludes to half a dozen major and effective interventions by the *'ulama'* during the eighteenth century.[39] That the *'ulama'* could indeed play on the mamluks' religious zeal is indicated by the fact that the two most powerful eighteenth-century mamluks, 'Ali Bey and Muhammad Bey Abu al-Dhahab, insisted on kissing Shaykh 'Ali al-Sa'idi's hands whenever he came to them with petitions from the people. Shaykh al-Sa'idi gave a clear demonstration on one occasion of the *'ulama'*'s power by taking Abu al-Dhahab's hand in his and saying: "I fear that fire may burn this hand."[40]

[37] Abdul-Rahim, "The Ottoman Rule," 75. We can form an idea of how effective *kuttab* schooling was if we recall that no eighteenth-century Egyptian historian was capable of writing in correct, classical Arabic.

[38] Unless otherwise indicated, this information has been taken from Gamal el-Din el-Shayyal, "Some Aspects of Literary and Social Life in Eighteenth-Century Egypt," in P.M. Holt (ed.), *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt: Historical Studies From the Ottoman Conquest to the United Arab Republic* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), 119-120, 129-131. I call the reader's attention to the fact that the most negative picture of the social and economic condition of eighteenth-century Egypt has been painted by the four native Egyptian sources cited above, i.e., Bakr, 'Abd al-Rahim, el-Shayyal, and Ezz el-Arab.

[39] *Ibid.* "Indeed the chronicles of Jabarti abound in examples of successful interventions on the part of the *'ulama'* with the mamluk beys and with the wali." Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Political and Economic Functions of the 'Ulama' in the 18th Century," *JESHO*, Vol. XVI, Parts 2-3 (December, 1973), 133. See also by Marsot, "The Wealth of the Ulama in Late Eighteenth Century Cairo," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, 205-216; and "The Ulama of Cairo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in Nikki R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East Since 1500* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: The University of California Press, 1972), 149-165. On the other hand, {the 'ulama' were sometimes attacked by the masses for being so ineffective with the ruling groups.—Bakr}.

[40] El-Shayyal, "Some Aspects of Literary and Social Life," 123-124. The election of the *shaykh al-Azhar* was of interest to all elements of society and was therefore conducted "democratically," with students, *'ulama'*, Sufi leaders, muftis of all but the Hanbalite school, Ottoman officials, and mamluk *beys* participating in the selection. On the other hand, down to 1793, the *naqib al-ashraf* was always a Turk, appointed by Istanbul. Crecelius, "The Emergence of the Shaykh al-Azhar," 110. In a 1980 article on the Egyptian *'ulama'* Gabriel Baer departed radically from the

The lesser *'ulama'* in particular defended the Egyptian people against the mamluk-Ottoman ruling elite, for the greater *'ulama'* were tied too closely with the mamluk ruling elite to protest vigorously, but can we also conclude, on the basis of our previous discussion, that the level of education in eighteenth-century Egypt was "low"? Despite the evidence adduced above, there seem to me to be many dangers inherent in such a blanket indictment. "Low" compared to what? Compared to the West? Compared to seventeenth, sixteenth or fifteenth-century Egypt? Compared to the rest of the Muslim world in the eighteenth-century? That certainly cannot be if the Maghrib still looked to Cairo for intellectual and cultural leadership.[41]

It is time now to make some preliminary assessment of the historiography of the period—a job which will be done in much greater detail in the essays that follow. The obvious first task is to try to compose a comprehensive list of eighteenth-century Egyptian historians. This is not as easy as it might first appear, and manuscripts unknown to us now are almost certain to surface in the future. In any case P.M. Holt identifies (in a 1968 article) eighteen native Egyptian histories of Ottoman Egypt, seven of which deal with the eighteenth century. These seven are:

1. An anonymous Paris fragment reaching to 1711 in the first chapter and to 1709 in the second chapter, which is more detailed.
2. Ahmad Çelebi ibn 'Abd al-Ghani's *Awdah al-Isharat fi man Tawalla Misr al-Qahira min al-Wuzara' wa 'l-Bashat*, located at Yale and reaching to 1737.
3. An anonymous history of the year 1191 A.H. (1777-78), located in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
4. 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan al-Jabarti's *'Aja'ib al-Athar fi 'l- Tarajim wa 'l-Akhbar*.
5. Mustafa al-Qinali's *Majmu' Latif*, located in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and reaching to 1739.
6. An anonymous *Kitab (Majmu') al-Durra al-Munsana fi Waqai' [sic] al-Kinana*, located at Cambridge and reaching to 1754-55.
7. Ahmad al-Damurdashi's *al-Durra al-Musana fi Akhbar al-Kinana*, located in the British museum and reaching to 1756.[42]

views expressed above. Baer argued that only 13 of the 280 *'ulama'* mentioned by al-Jabarti ever stood up for the Egyptian people or tried to prevent injustice. He claimed that the *'ulama'* incited their *fallahin* clients to violence in order to get what they wanted; and he said that they acted as mediators only in the second half of the eighteenth century, which is incorrect, inasmuch as el-Shayyal in the above-mentioned article has documented two instances that occurred prior to 1750. See by Baer, "Patrons and Clients in Ottoman Cairo," *Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, 11-14, 16-17.

[41] See above, pages 17-18.

[42] P.M. Holt, "Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, 8-10, 12.

Sources 5, 6, and 7 Holt combines in what he calls "the Damurdashi group" of chronicles, with strong "family resemblances."[43] A couple of questions arise immediately here: (1) Can we at long last agree on the correct spelling of al-Damurdashi's name, which appears differently in every text? and (2) Should we consider 5, 6, and 7 to be in fact "the Damurdashi group?"[44]

In addition, although Holt made a good initial effort, we know now that his list was incomplete. Even prior to the appearance of Holt's article, in fact, Muhammad Anis' brief but excellent study of Ottoman Egyptian historiography came out, and Anis found three eighteenth-century Egyptian historians that Holt had ignored—'Ali al-Shadhili, Mustafa Ibrahim, and Murtada al-Zabidi.[45] There are almost certain to be others, and a complete and comprehensive list of eighteenth-century Egyptian historians is therefore needed.

In Anis' opinion at least Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban al-Damurdashi's chronicle is by far the most important of the hitherto overlooked "soldiers' accounts." It fills in the period before 1190 A.H. (1776-77), which al-Jabarti is vague about, and is much more multi-dimensional than other accounts, dealing equally valuably with economic, financial, social, political, military, administrative, religious, and cultural history! Anis cites a couple of remarkable passages from al-Damurdashi to illustrate how even Egypt's beggars had been organized into a quasi-guild which appealed for and received financial assistance from mamluk commanders.[46]

On the other hand, Anis is not nearly as enthusiastic about Mustafa Ibrahim's *Ta'rikh Waqa'i' Misr al-Qahira*, which is a less sensitive and keenly observant account of the same period that Ahmad Katkhuda treats, but notes that both men's writings will be useful for the study of linguistic history. He gives 'Ali al-Shadhili even shorter shrift, stating that his account of the revolt of Ifranj Ahmad is contained in a small document in *Dar al-Kutub*. Finally, he traces the links between al-Zabidi, the Syrian al-Muradi, and al-Jabarti, all of whom were interested in the biographical genre of writing. But then the discussion breaks down, with Anis seeming to

[43] *Ibid.*, 8. David Ayalon was obviously not aware, at least not in a 1962 article, that al-Qinali and al-Damurdashi belonged to the same "family." See Ayalon, "The Historian al-Jabarti," in Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1962), 396-397, 397, n. 20.

[44] {Another possibility is the 'Azab (or soldiers') group.—Raymond}.

[45] Muhammad Anis, *Madrasat al-Ta'rikh al-Misri fi 'l-'Asr al-'Uthmani* (Cairo: Dar al-Jil li 'l-Tiba'a, 1962), 52-56. Anis actually referred to Ibrahim Mustafa—an apparent slip. Holt also cited only one work by al-Jabarti, whereas he wrote three histories. See below, page 27. (Check this after single-spacing)

[46] *Ibid.*, 56-57.

conclude that either al-Zabidi's or al-Jabarti's history (I am unable to tell which) was published in Istanbul in 1291 A.H. (the first three parts) and at Bulaq in 1301 A.H. (the fourth and final part).[47]

There are still other taxonomic matters that must be addressed. Should, for example, works written by Turks stationed in Egypt be considered part of eighteenth-century Egyptian historiography? We might mention in this regard Mehmed b. Mehmed Katibzade al-Misri's *al-Rawda al-Zahiyya fi Ta'rikh al-Umara' al-Misriya al-'Uthmaniya* on the period 1704-19 or al-Amir Ahmed Bey's *Ta'rikh al-Waqa'i'*, which deals with the period from November, 1786, to August, 1787.[48] In addition, should some works written *in Turkish* be considered part of the native Egyptian corpus? In this respect we have the *Nizamname-i Misir*, written in 1785 by Cezzar Ahmed Pasha. Cezzar Pasha headed the Ottoman governor's staff in Egypt, was for many years active in the mamluk regime, and eventually fled to Syria, where he became Ottoman governor of that province. He knew more about Egyptian affairs than any other Ottoman official.[49] Al-Khallaq's *Tarih-i Misir-i Qahire*, in manuscript form in the library of Istanbul University and reaching down to at least 1712, is another example of this genre.[50]

On the other hand, it would seem easier to exclude the works of 'Abdullah al-Sharqawi (d. 1812), Isma'il al-Khashshab (d. 1814), and Hasan al-'Attar (ca.1766-1835) from consideration, because they were probably written after 1800.[51] This is certainly true of al-Sharqawi's *Tuhfat al-Nazirin fi-man Waliya Misr min al-Wulat wa 'l-Salatin*, although I have not been able to determine an exact date for his *al-Tuhfa al-Bahiya fi Tabaqat al-Shafi'iya*, if in fact it has survived. I assumed wrongly in my book that al-Khashshab's *Tadhkira li-Ahl al-Basa'ir wa 'l-Absar ma' Wajh al-Ikhtisar* had been lost. However, it turns out that there is an extant copy in the

[47] *Ibid.*, 52, 55, 57. The "standard" Bulaq edition of *'Aja'ib al-Athar* was actually published in 1297 A.H. (1879-80). Also, I am not personally aware of any of al-Zabidi's writings that have survived. Gran refers to eighteenth century Egyptian historians who wrote in imitation of Turkish dynastic history and cites as examples al-Damurdashi, al-Khashshab, and Mustafa Ibrahim. See Gran, *Islamic Roots of Capitalism*, 67-69.

[48] Stanford J. Shaw, "Turkish Source-Materials for Egyptian History," *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, 46-47.

[49] Percy Kemp, "An Eighteenth-Century Turkish Intelligence Report," *IJMES*, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (November, 1984), 499; and Shaw, "Turkish Source-Materials," 47-48. {Cezzar was actually a minor official on the governor's staff, who had learned Arabic while in Egypt. He claims he was never fully accepted by the mamluks since he was a Bosnian.—Philipp}.

[50] Mentioned in Winter, "Turks, Arabs and Mamluks," 120.

[51] I have discussed al-Sharqawi and al-Khashshab briefly in my book. See Crabbs, 57-58.

Bibliothèque Nationale. I am unable to establish a date for this work, although al-Khashshab's *Khulasat ma Yurad min Akhbar al-Amir Murad*, like al-Sharqawi's *Tuhfat al-Nazirin*, was completed in 1801.[52]

The case of Hasan al-'Attar is less problematic. Under the prose category "History and Geography," Gran lists in all six works by al-'Attar; closer examination, however, reveals that only one of these—*Risala al-Tahqiq al-Khilafa al-Islamiya wa Manaqib al-Khilafa al-'Uthmaniya*—was actually authored by him.[53] According to de Jong, this work cannot have been written before 1813.[54]

The works of Ahmad Çelebi ibn 'Abd al-Ghani and Mustafa al-Qinali are dealt with elsewhere in this volume. We are left with al-Jabarti's contribution, which includes not only *'Aja'ib al-Athar* (no. 4 on Holt's list) but also *Mazhar al-Taqdis bi-Dhahab Dawlat al-Faransis* and *Ta'rikh Muddat al-Faransis bi-Misr*. Due mainly to *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, the reputation of al-Jabarti is so great that it has until now all but eclipsed the efforts of all the other writers. The present volume, however, puts this "giant among dwarfs" (Ayalon's term initially) into quite another perspective and one which will no doubt spark some debate among scholars.[55]

One final aspect of eighteenth-century Egyptian historiography that may need reassessment is the classification, begun by Holt, of writings into one of two types: (1) the literary chronicle and (2) the popular chronicle or "soldiers' school."[56] Anis vacillates on this issue, claiming at one point that there was a third or biographical school and at another point that both the literary and the popular chronicle were subbranches of the biographical tradition.[57] Gran, on the other hand, appears to lump the literary and

[52] Information taken from Holt, "Ottoman Egypt," 9, 12.

[53] Gran, 204.

[54] F. de Jong, "The Itinerary of Hasan al-'Attar (1766-1835): A Reconsideration and Its Implications," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1983), 125.

[55] In a technical sense al-Jabarti should probably not be considered an eighteenth century Egyptian historian at all, since of his three works only *Ta'rikh Muddat al-Faransis bi Misr* was written before 1800. Crabbs, 45-46. Due, however, to his unique position in the annals of Egyptian historiography, it was inevitable that he be reexamined here.

[56] As cited in Crabbs, 38.

[57] Anis, 18, 58. Cf., el-Shayyal, who maintains that it was Egyptians who pioneered the genre of biographical dictionaries of leading notables in Mamluk times, e.g., Ibn Hajar in the fourteenth and al-Sakhawi in the fifteenth century, but that this sort of history stopped with the Ottoman conquest and was transferred over to Syria. El-Shayyal, "Some Aspects of Literary and Social Life," 121. In her contribution to this volume Jane Hathaway argues that Egyptian historians continued the biographical tradition during the Ottoman centuries.

popular chronicles together into one category but then comes up with a second category of "historical" writings, which by his own admission is also either *hadith*-studies themselves or else inspired by the same. Most of these focus on the Battle of Badr and are therefore clearly outside the scope of the present inquiry; however, Gran does cite the work of ʿAbdallah al-Shubrawi, which is a history of Islam from the Battle of Badr down to al-Shubrawi's own time and the reign of Sultan Mahmud (1748).[58]

[58]Gran, 67-70. Mahmud I (1730-1754).

THE OPUSCULE OF SHAYKH ʿALI AL-SHADHILI: A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE 1711 CRISIS IN CAIRO

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The opuscule that Shaykh ʿAli al-Shadhili wrote on the subject of the "revolution" of 1711 has vanished from Egyptian historiography virtually since the time that al-Jabarti mentioned this work in one of the passages of his chronicle dealing with the events of 1711.[1] In 1962, thanks to the friendly and competent help of Fuʾad Sayyid, I was able to consult the manuscript of this work in the Dar al-Kutub in Cairo, where it is preserved as No. 367 of the history collection of the Taymuriya. I gave all the necessary indications about this source and its location in an article I wrote a few years later on this important episode of the history of Ottoman Egypt.[2] A short time later, in 1968, an Egyptian historian, Dr. ʿAbd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat, published in the *al-Majalla al-Taʾrikhiya al-Misriya*, a study and an edition of al-Shadhili's text, which contained no reference to my work, with which he was no doubt not acquainted.[3] The symposium organized on the manuscript sources for eighteenth century Egypt by Professor Daniel Crecelius gives me the opportunity to return in more detail to the text that had caught my attention more than twenty-five years ago.

[1]ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar fiʾl-Tarajim waʾl-Akhbar* (Bulaq: 1297/1879), 4 volumes. See Vol. I, 107 (French translation, *Merveilles biographiques* (Cairo: 1888-96), 9 volumes. See Vol. I, 248). Al-Shadhili's opuscule was briefly mentioned by Muhammad Anis, who remarked that "ʿAli al-Shadhili ... dealt with the history of Ifrang Ahmad's revolt (a short manuscript in Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya)." See Anis, *Madrasat al-Taʾrikh al-Misri* (Cairo: 1962), 55. P.M. Holt does not mention al-Shadhili's manuscript in his "Ottoman Egypt: An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt* (London: 1968), 3-12.

[2]"Une 'revolution' au Caire sous les Mamelouks. La crise de 1123/1711," *Annales Islamologiques* 6 (1965), 95-120.

[3]ʿAbd al-Qadir A. Tumaylat, "Dhikr ma waqaʿa ʿaskar a-Mahrusa al-Qahira," *al-Majalla al-Taʾrikhiya al-Misriya*, 14 (1968), 321-403. I shall quote ʿAli al-Shadhili's text by giving first the reference to the Taymuriya manuscript and second (after /) to the published text.

I. THE EVENTS OF 1711

I do not think it necessary to write here at any length about the crisis of 1711 that I tried to analyze in the article I mentioned above. I shall merely review the details that seem to me necessary in order to fully understand the study of ʿAli al-Shadhili's text that is to follow.

This "revolution" had its origins in a conflict within the Janissary regiment (*ojaq*) in opposition to Ifrang Ahmad, the *bashodabashi* of the corps, and a large number of the *ojaq* soldiers headed by a group of eight officers. At stake was the control of the regiment, the largest in Cairo and the main beneficiary of the exploitation of the urban population, which guaranteed the Janissaries both power and influence. Their dominance aroused the jealousy of the other, less well-endowed, regiments. A first confrontation occurred in 1709, which led to the banishment of "the eight." But they subsequently returned to Cairo, where they were supported by the ʿAzab corps, the second largest militia and traditional rivals of the Janissaries.

This conflict within the Janissaries and between them and the six other regiments, led by the ʿAzabs, was aggravated by the evolution of the rivalry between the two great "parties" into which the ruling caste of mamluks and soldiers (*ʿaskar*) was divided. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Qasimite faction was reformed around a number of amirs, the most important of whom were Iwaz Bey, Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab, and Qansawh Bey, and the ʿAzab regiment. The Faqarite faction's most important amirs were Ayyub Bey, Qaytas Bey, and Muhammad Bey al-Kabir, the governor of Upper Egypt (*hakim al-saʿid*). The Janissaries were attached to this faction. These traditional conflicts were exacerbated by the quarrel between Ayyub Bey and Qaytas Bey, the latter of whom with his own followers, drew closer to the Qasimites, thus upsetting the fragile balance within the military caste that both governed and exploited the country.

The conflict that began in 1711 between the Janissaries and the dissident Janissaries allied to the ʿAzabs soon drew in the amirs. The two regiments entrenched in their citadel barracks bombarded each other in April, 1711 with a violence that impressed their contemporaries. The situation grew worse when, in May, Muhammad Bey arrived from Girga, capital of the Saʿid, with Hawwara bedouins. Thereupon the other faction mobilized bedouin forces connected to its faction. In the meantime, the two parties requested, and received, legitimizations (*fatwas*) from the shaykhs of al-Azhar to justify their cause. The two camps, engaged in an implacable struggle, on one side gathered Iwaz Bey, the *amir al-hajj* (commander of the pilgrimage), Qansawh Bey, Qaytas Bey, the ʿAzabs, and the dissident Janissaries, and on the other Ayyub Bey, Muhammad Bey, and Ifrang Ahmad with the greater number of the Janissaries. This latter faction was supported by Khalil Pasha, the Ottoman governor.

For some time fighting took place in the town, where the two factions attempted to secure control of strategically well-placed mosques. Despite the fierceness of the struggle which had regrettable repercussions on the "civilian" population, neither of the two camps was able to gain any decisive advantage over the other. The amirs then transferred military operations to the garden areas situated between Cairo and the Nile, towards Qasr al-ʿAyni and Rawda, thus making difficult the supply of water and increasing the suffering of the Cairenes. In spite of the death of Iwaz Bey on June 1 during one of the first battles, neither of the sides could win, but the Qasimites found in Yusuf al-Jazzar, one of Iwaz's mamluks, a leader of great valor. The war became increasingly violent, due in particular to the active participation of the bedouin contingents that each party had called to the capital. With part of the town under their control, the amirs of the ʿAzab camp decided to depose Khalil Pasha, who had shut himself in the citadel with the Janissaries, and to appoint Qansawh Bey a *qa'immaqam* (interim governor). Qansawh Bey would depose the opposition's leaders in the government and the regiments, in particular ʿAli Agha, the Janissary agha, and designate a "counter-hierarchy" in the *ojaqs* and call upon the *ʿaskar*, under threat of plundering their houses, to join them. The war continued in the form of assaults against the residences of the amirs. The storming of Ayyub Bey's palace on June 21 brought about the flight of the amir and the collapse of his faction. Muhammad Bey returned to Upper Egypt with his bedouins and the governor, resigning himself to his deposition, withdrew from the citadel. Ifrang Ahmad and a number of the officers of his party were executed and others had to flee. The crisis ended with the complete success of the Qasimite faction, but above all of the renegade "Qaytasite" faction from the Faqarites.

II. ʿALI AL-SHADHILI

The name of the opuscule's author is mentioned on the last page of the Taymuriya manuscript (92/401) as ʿAli al-Shadhili al-Farra. In his own chronicle, while finishing a biographical sketch on Ifrang Ahmad, the main protagonist of the events of 1711, al-Jabarti remarks, "Other events, much too long to relate, also occurred. I have read a work by the shaykh ʿAli al-Shadhili that gives a highly detailed account of this affair."[4]

The text of the opuscule gives us little information about this person apart from indications that prove that he was present during the events he relates. The numerous details about the incidents during the mamluk-Janissary conflict and in particular on the violence of the bombardments and the fighting, are obviously those of an eye-witness. He sometimes talks

[4]Jabarti, Vol. I, 107.

about himself. Recalling the bombardment of the ʿAzab barracks by Muhammad Bey, the author notes that it was a terrible night for the people of Cairo, "so much so that we thought that the earth was about to sunder beneath us" (35/363). At the end of this account he mentions the announcement of the nomination of the governor Wali Pasha, appointed by the central government to replace Khalil Pasha. "Then messengers came to us bringing the news" (91/400). Therefore, he was an inhabitant of Cairo who, we suppose, had reached the age of discernment by 1711, but of whom we know neither the exact filiation nor profession. That he was called *farra* (furrier) can be taken only as an assumption of professional activity, not as a certainty, for this could be a "family name."

One naturally must compare this shaykh ʿAli al-Shadhili al-Farra with ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Habbak al-Shafiʿi al-Shadhili whose orbituary is appended by al-Jabarti to the account of the events of the year 1195 (1780-81).[5] This shaykh, al-Jabarti writes, had studied *fiqh* with the shaykh ʿIsa al-Barrawi, who died in 1768. He became a member of the *tariqa* Shadhiliya through the intermediary of Shaykh Muhammad Küçük whom he succeeded as shaykh of the Shadhili mystics (*muridin*). He was an *imam* in the *zawiya* in the citadel. He had disciples and followers. He died on the 23rd of Shaʿban 1195/August 14, 1781. In another passage of the *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, writing the biography of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahman al-ʿAydarusi (1722/3-1778/9), Jabarti mentions a meeting with "the *sayyid*" ʿAli al-Shadhili (around 1760-61 ?).[6]

This shaykh, and *sayyid*, ʿAli al-Shadhili had therefore been a personage notable enough to merit a mention, though only six lines of text, in Jabarti's biographical collection. It seems logical to consider him as the author of the opuscule on the events of 1711, and in fact Dr. al-Tulaymat does so.[7] The dates do not contradict this assumption. If the author of the work was twenty years old in 1711, he therefore died in his nineties, a long life, but not at all implausible. We should point out, however, that the author calls himself "farra," whereas Jabarti mentions an ʿAli ibn Muhammad "al-Habbak" al-Shadhili. The assumption made by Tulaymat that ʿAli was in fact a *farra* (furrier) and that *habbak* (weaver) designates his father's craft is merely a supposition. It is also necessary to note that the author of the opuscule does not call himself "*sayyid*," any more than Jabarti does when mentioning him. Lastly, it may appear surprising that when writing the

[5]Jabarti, Vol. II, 71.

[6]Jabarti, Vol. II, 29.

[7]Tumaylat, "Dhikr," 324-326.

obituary of Shaykh ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Habbak al-Shadhili, Jabarti does not mention his historical work which, though modest, had drawn his attention sufficiently enough for him to mention it in his chronicle, which is quite an exceptional honor in the *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar* where few contemporary sources are quoted with such precision.[8]

In a different connection, it seems to me useful to note that Jabarti's biography obviously concerns a "classic" *ʿalim* whose affiliation to the very respectable order of the Shadhiliya presented no problem to the author of the *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, who was very traditionalist on this point. The impression we get, however, from his style, his references (more often proverbial than religious), from the way he views contemporary society, is that the author of the opuscule is hardly typical of what can be called the Azhari culture of that period. A comparison with an author like Muhammad ibn Abiʾl-Surur al-Bakri seems to me significant from this point of view. In addition, the way in which the author of the opuscule envisages the contradictory positions taken by the *ʿulamaʾ* of al-Azhar during the conflict does not seem to express a point of view close to the mosque-university. Though his handling of the language is correct, and cannot therefore be compared to that of "military" chronicles, the author seems to belong to a more popular social strata than that of the well-read Azharis, maybe to that of the artisans and tradesmen of Cairo. Finally, the author of the opuscule recalls with obvious emotion the execution ordered by ʿAli Agha of Shaykh Muhammad ibn ʿAshur, shaykh of the Barhamiya dervishes, and shows both for the personage and the order a respect that seems quite remarkable if one remembers the vigor with which Jabarti anathematizes the *tariqa* which he classifies among the *ashaʾir* (fraternities) and which he sometimes calls "satanic" (*shaytaniya*) and if one recalls the extraordinary vehemence of the contemporary poet Hasan al-Higazi with regard to Ibn ʿAshur al-Dasuqi. Jabarti quotes with obvious agreement the lines where the poet indulges in a stream of derogatory epithets (*radiʿ*, *zindiq*) and applauds the death of the personage. Most significantly, in his own account Jabarti does not mention the execution of Ibn ʿAshur, which is noted in the text by Ahmad al-Shalabi which Jabarti otherwise conscienciously copies. Obviously, the author of the opuscule did not belong to the same cultural milieu as Jabarti and it is surprising to find him mentioned, in such a laudatory manner, in the *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, even if this is in an obituary written well after the events of 1711.[9]

[8]It is also the case of the chronicle of Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani, *Awdah al-Isharat*, Landberg manuscript No. 3, Yale University, published by ʿAbd al-Rahim (Cairo: 1978). I shall mention this text by giving first the reference to the Yale manuscript, then (after /) to the published text.

[9]See the well known text of Jabarti on the *turuq shaytaniya* (*ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, IV, 120). Hasan al-Higazi mentioned Muhammad b. ʿAshur several times in the

These various considerations seem to me to justify a certain caution as regards identifying ʿAli al-Shadhili al-Farra, author of the opuscule, with the shaykh and *sayyid* ʿAli b. Muhammad al-Habbak al-Shadhili who died in 1781.

III. THE TEXT OF THE OPUSCULE

The text of ʿAli al-Shadhili's work came to us in the form of a "unicum" preserved in the Dar al-Kutub library of Cairo, Taymuriya collection, Ta'rikh 367. The title given it in the library inventory is "*Nubdha fi dhikr waqiʿa bayn umaraʾ Misr sanat 1123.*" The manuscript itself has a different title, "*Risala fi waqiʿa waqaʿat bayn umaraʾ al-Jarakisa bi Misr sanat 1123 tasabbaba fiha Ifrang Ahmad Odabashi Mustahfizan li ʾl-Shaykh ʿAli al-Shadhili.*" This title is written in a handwriting that seems different from that of the text itself and could be, according to Tulaymat, that of Ahmad Taymur Pasha himself, the owner of the manuscript.[10] Very likely none of these is the original title, but the one mentioned by the writer himself on the last page of the text (92) as "*Dhikr ma waqaʿa bayn ʿaskar al-Mahrusa al-Qahira.*" This is the title that Tulaymat gave, most reasonably, to his edition. One can suppose the manuscript to be an autograph; no indication of a possible copy is given in the text. The formula that appears in the last paragraph of the opuscule seems to confirm this hypothesis: "*Qala dhalika bi lisanihi al-haqir fi ʿuyun al-Qurra al-faqir ʿAli al-Shadhili al-Farra.*"

As preserved in the Taymuriya collection, the text consists of 92 pages with 17 lines per page. The dimensions of the written surface are 9.5 by 16 centimeters. The pagination, continuous from 1 to 92, was added after the text had been written, for it does not take into account the two gaps that exist in the text we possess today. The manuscript begins in the middle of an enumeration, that is continued, of Cairo's leading officers: " ... *Qara Ismaʿil Katkhuda* ..." It is difficult to assess the number of missing pages, among which there was, most certainly, a preamble which is now lost. However, as the account that has been preserved begins with the events of 1709 and relates the prolegomena of those of 1711, one may suppose that the latter are given here in their entirety. The second gap is situated between pages 74 and 75. The author has just recalled the flight of Ayyub Bey which marked the end of the civil war and was announced in the Janissary barracks

poems quoted by Jabarti. See, for instance, Jabarti, I, 108/I, 249 of the French translation. "Le fils d'Achour fut décapité / Car il était méchant et suivait les traces d'El Dessouki. / Sa mort servit à la rémission des péchés / Et ceux qui le tuèrent gagnèrent le paradis, / Car c'était un impie rusé, / Très expert pour les crimes de toutes sortes."

[10]Tulaymat, "*Dhikr*," 337.

(74). At the beginning of page 75, the author mentions the capitulation asked for by the people of the citadel. Thus the missing part, in all likelihood, is quite short, representing only two paragraphs out of the 136 into which I have divided the text by Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani concerning the events of 1711. There may be just one page missing.

Written in rather angular *nashki* script, the manuscript is nearly always perfectly legible, with all the points indicated and at scattered intervals, a few vowels to help the reader. The language is generally very correct and there are only rare particularities such as *mâtina* (solid) used instead of *matîna*. There are practically no dialectisms, neither in syntax nor in vocabulary. There are not even any quotations, in colloquial Arabic, of spoken words or speeches, as was frequently the case in chronicles of the time, notably in al-Damurdashi and al-Jabarti.

IV. THE VALUE OF THE TEXT

The events of 1711 are well-known to us, thanks to a relatively large number of good quality sources. The most important belong to two traditions. In his *Awdah al-Isharat*, Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani, an author about whom we know very little, gives a detailed and apparently complete, well-informed eye-witness account of the crisis. It occupies pages 100-124 of his historical work (228-251 of the text edited by ʿAbd al-Rahim), the best account of the history of Egypt from the end of the 17th century up to the year 1737. Jabarti writes of the 1711 crisis mainly in pages 38-46 of volume I of his *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar* (events of the year 1123) and, more briefly, in the frame of his obituaries of the main protagonists (I, 95-98, 105-11, 115-22), but provides little information that is new. He does mention that he had Ahmad Shalabi's chronicle at hand, but remarks on two occasions that he had lost it, implying that he could not therefore have used it very much.[11]

In the first part of his chronicle, however, Jabarti uses Ahmad Shalabi's text constantly and, in the case of the events of 1711 in particular, he plagiarizes the text entirely, often reproducing it word for word, or in a slightly edited form, while strictly following his model's order of exposition. The only notable exception is the account of the meeting of the Qasimite amirs during which Yusuf al-Jazzar was promoted to *sanjaq bey*. Jabarti places this event the day after the death of Iwaz Bey and not, like Ahmad Shalabi, at the end of the crisis. It represents only one paragraph out of the 136 paragraphs into which I have divided Ahmad Shalabi's chronicle. The

[11]It is interesting to note here that the two versions Jabarti gives of the loss of his manuscript are slightly different. See Jabarti, I, 6, 56.

cuts Jabarti makes are few (18 paragraphs out of 136), but are often full of meaning as regards the view Jabarti wishes to give of the events. Jabarti's additions, as we shall see in Section V, are also very rare.

The other two main sources belong to the category of what are called "military" accounts elaborated in the circle of the ʿAzab regiment. They are Mustafa al-Qinali, *Majmuʿ Latif* (Vienna ms., H.O. 38), of which pages 65-79 deal with the events of 1711, and Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi, *Kitab al-Durra al-Musana* (London: British Museum ms., OR. 1073-1074) that has just been published by ʿA. ʿAbd al-Rahim.[12] Pages 143-174 of the manuscript and 84-99 of the printed text refer to the crisis of 1711. These two chronicles written in fairly popular language are very similar in their disorderly presentation and the scarcity of their dates.

Compared to these "military" sources, ʿAli al-Shadhili's opuscule is closer to the texts by Ahmad Shalabi and Jabarti. The events are narrated in an order that is more similar to this tradition than to that of the "military" chronicles. This similarity also appears in certain details, for example, in the spelling of proper names (Iwaz is spelled with an initial *ʿayn* in the "military" chronicles, Qaytas with an initial *ghayn*). Again, for example, ʿAli al-Shadhili's list of "the eight" contains five names that coincide with the list presented by Ahmad Shalabi, but differs from those given by Qinali and Damurdashi.

Generally speaking, ʿAli al-Shadhili's text is invaluable because of the complementary information it brings us and of the more balanced view it enables us to take of the conflict and the actors.

It would be tedious to mention in great detail the information supplied by ʿAli al-Shadhili and this would in any case be of limited interest.[13] I shall quote only a few examples of information that can complete (or correct) the version offered by Ahmad Shalabi.

As to the events of April 15, 1711 that touched off the crisis, ʿAli al-Shadhili notes that it was the closing of the Janissary and ʿAzab barracks and their mutual bombardment (11/354). According to Ahmad Shalabi, it was the closing by the dissident Janissaries, who had entrenched themselves in the ʿAzab barracks, of the access routes to the citadel which brought about reprisals from the other camp and the beginning of hostilities (102/230). ʿAli al-Shadhili mentions a message sent by Ayyub Bey to Muhammad Bey asking him to come to Cairo with the Hawwara bedouins (17/358), a piece of information that does not appear in Ahmad Shalabi, but does appear in al-Damurdashi. In his account of the death of Iwaz, of which

[12]Ahmed al-Demerdashi, *Livre d'al-Durra al-Musana*, ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim, ed. (Cairo: 1989). In this case I shall again refer first to the British museum manuscript, then to the printed text.

[13]See my article, "Une `revolution' au Caire."

his amirs were unaware, ʿAli al-Shadhili (43-49/372-376) refers to a tradition wholly different from that of the other sources. The "mosque war" episodes in the center of Cairo (18-32/359-366), then the "residences war" episodes (60-63/382-383) are dealt with by ʿAli al-Shadhili with some originality. We could give numerous other examples, but these are sufficient to demonstrate how difficult it is to write a detailed history of these events from such diverse sources.

The tendency of most of the Egyptian chronicles is to give an interpretation of the events that is generally favorable to the Qasimites and ʿAzabs and hostile to Ifrang Ahmad, the Janissaries, the Faqarite amirs and the governor. This is natural enough where the "military" chronicles are concerned, for these were composed within the circle of the ʿAzab corps and therefore reflect their point of view. But this tendency is also apparent in Ahmad Shalabi, and in Jabarti, who follows him closely and who seems even to aggravate his propensity to show the actions of the Qasimite amirs (Iwaz Bey in particular, but also Yusuf Bey al-Jazzar and ʿAli Agha) in a favorable light and those of the Faqarites in a fairly hostile manner. See the complacent quotations that Jabarti makes from the highly "committed" poems by Shaykh Hasan al-Higazi whose anti-Faqarite vehemence is notable. In such a context, ʿAli al-Shadhili gives an interpretation of the events that seems to be more equitably balanced between the two camps. This relative neutrality was no doubt shared by most of the civilians of Cairo who had to bear the consequences of a conflict between the two factions and who therefore tended to blame both parties for their sufferings.

ʿAli al-Shadhili's text therefore quite clearly shows the role of Ifrang Ahmad's opponents in instigating the crisis that originated just as much in the demands made by "the eight" as in the stubbornness of the Janissary *bashodabashi* (5-8/349-351).

The appeal to the bedouins that was to make the conflict particularly fierce was a decisive episode of the conflict and is normally attributed to the Faqarites. But ʿAli al-Shadhili's account tends to demonstrate that both parties played an active role in escalating the conflict. Even before the fighting began, al-Shadhili mentions the financial support given to the renegade Janissaries by Hasan, the amir of the Saʿid (8/351), which is followed by Ayyub Bey's appeal to Muhammad Bey and the Hawwara (17-18/358-359). After the death of Iwaz Bey, and immediately after Ayyub Bey's appeal to Habib, *shaykh al-ʿArab* (52/377), ʿAli al-Shadhili mentions that letters were sent by the ʿAzabs to the bedouins of Salalama and of Buhayra asking them to come with all possible haste (52/378).

Like all Egyptian historians, ʿAli al-Shadhili writes of the person of the amir Iwaz Bey with emotion and veneration, no doubt because of the efforts he apparently made to avoid the eruption of the crisis and then his attempts to put a stop to it (see in particular page 44/373). But the author also gives

quite a favorable account of the tactical operations successively imagined by Muhammad Bey who, as the person responsible for the Hawwara's coming to Cairo, is rather badly treated by the "military" chronicles (see, for example, pages 21-22/361 and 28-29/364). The author reveals a certain admiration for the amir's ingenuity which was so costly for the inhabitants of Cairo. He praises Muhammad Agha, an amir of the Faqarite faction, as "a hero among heroes" (*batal min al-abtal*) (39/370), just as much as he does Yusuf Bey al-Jazzar, the successor of Iwaz, who he describes as "a courageous and magnanimous hero" (*batal*, *shulja'*, *humam*) (50/376). Giving credit to Qaytas Bey for the fine act of "chivalry" that led him to send four young mamluks captured in combat back to their master, Ayyub Bey, after giving them clothing, money and horses, the author immediately recalls just as generous a deed of Ayyub Bey towards Qaytas Bey (56-57/380).

Just as striking is the moderate way in which the author handles Khalil Pasha, who is so ill-treated in the other sources because of the support he gave Ifrang Ahmad's party. The governor is treated with quite particular virulence by Jabarti through numerous quotations from Hasan al-Higazi's poems. Khalil Pasha is described in these pieces of poetry as the "one-eyed, ruptured, lame" pasha, "the madman dedicated to evil," "this wretched pasha we had," and "the evil Khalil, that wretched pasha."[14] This hostile tradition does not appear in al-Shadhili, where Khalil Pasha's role in the events is not described as a determining factor. When the chronicler relates the "descent" of the deposed governor from the citadel, the demonstration of popular hostility he mentions does not concern the pasha. The amirs accompany Khalil Pasha to the residence he has been allocated in the city and see him settled in under guard. The chief judge (*qadi*) and the *naqib al-ashraf* who had stayed by the governor's side in the citadel during the entire crisis returned to their own residences, escorted by *'askar* and soldiers "who protected them from the insolent (*al-sufaha*)" (75-76/391). This is quite a neutral version of events if we compare it with Jabarti's text (closely borrowed from Ahmad Shalabi) in which the pasha is shown, closely surrounded and protected by soldiers, crossing Rumayla and Saliba in the middle of a hostile population. Jabarti adds that "the crowd (*al-'amma*) lining the street covered him with insults and curses."[15]

One of the main interests of 'Ali al-Shadhili's work is that the view he gives of the events of 1711 is no doubt that of an ordinary inhabitant of Cairo who had neither a connection with the ruling caste, like Ibn 'Abd al-Ghani or Jabarti, nor expressed a point of view close to that of the *'ulama'*,

[14]Jabarti, *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, and French translation, Vol. I, 97/I, 226; I, 98/I227; I, 108/I, 250; I, 109/I, 250; I, 110/I, 253-254.

[15]Jabarti, *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, I, 46; Ahmad Shalabi, *Awdah al-Isharat*, 122/248.

as did Jabarti. Through his account one can guess how the *ra'aya* (subjects) reacted to events that in no way concerned them but whose disastrous effects they nevertheless had to endure.

'Ali al-Shadhili's text is full of descriptions demonstrating the sufferings of the inhabitants of Cairo. During the first bombardment, when one hundred cannon shots were exchanged (a large number to the chronicler), "the cannons made the earth ring with their heavy cannonballs ... Never before had the people of Cairo experienced such a day. The calamaties they undured were indescribable ... Children and men were killed. Houses were destroyed by the cannonballs" (11/354). Later, artillery fire exchanged by the adversaries "made the earth tremble ... and shook even the biggest and most substantial houses." (20/360) They illuminated the night "like lightning" and it was as if "the earth was about to sunder" (25/363). Many houses were in fact destroyed in the quarters close to the citadel. When operations were transferred to the interior of the city during the struggle for the control of the mosques things grew even worse for the population. In Suwayqat al-'Izzi, where fighting continued for three days, people could not sleep and decided to leave the quarter (30/365). The day the 'Azabs fought to occupy the houses was hard indeed for the inhabitants. "Don't even ask what thc children, the women, young people and the men had to endure" (32/366). Houses and shops were looted, people began to "despair for their lives" (32/366). As the Janissaries took over the mosques of Mu'ayyad and Iskandar Pasha the people were in the greatest distress and could no longer move about (34/367).

The intervention of the bedouins brought all these difficulties to their height. "Their only object was to ... loot and lay waste" (52-53/378). As the bedouins besieged Cairo, "the inhabitants are in despair. People are convinced they are about to perish" (59/381). The supply of drinking water was jeopardized (34/367) and was eventually cut off completely during the fighting outside Cairo.

For these seemingless endless misfortunes (the civil war lasted 68 days), the chronicler apparently tended to blame both sides, hence his repeated remarks on the adversaries' stubbornness in prolonging the conflict. "Each side wanted only to realize its designs" (12/354). "Each party said, `I will stop only when my will has triumphed'" (28/364). "He who refuses peace will regret it" (14/355). "This was all due to the fact that they had no leader (*ra'is*) to direct them and no sage (*'alim*) to restrain them" (28/364). The anguish and exasperation of the population were such that, at one time, the 'Azab leaders expressed their fear of a popular reaction. "All the people are in great anxiety ... This situation may cause great damage" (62/383). And it is true that during an operation led by the Janissaries inside the city, near Darb al-Ahmar, the inhabitants of the

quarter took the side of their adversaries so as to put an end to the ills the war had been causing them.[16]

In a general way, the conflict inevitably led the inhabitants to cast a critical eye on the ruling caste which exploited them and whose quarrels made their life unbearable. There is undoubtedly some bitterness in the description ʿAli al-Shadhili gives on several occasions of the luxury in which the amirs, such as Ifrang Ahmad, lived (5/349). He describes the sumptuous palace of Ayyub Bey at length (64-65/384). "These amirs," says the chronicler elsewhere, "lived in the greatest luxury and had a good time." They enjoyed "all sorts of choice food, magnificent clothes, horses ... beautiful female slaves, running waters, vast gardens and orchards with all kinds of flowers and fruit, and a host of servants. In spite of this they did not take these blessings into consideration" (37/369). Perhaps some irony should be read into the manner in which the chronicler describes the belated regrets of the exiled amirs who lost everything in 1711. When they halted in Tara, "every one of them cried and was full of grief at the thought of being separated from his people, his children, his house, his slaves and his troops" (73/389).

The harsh judgment that the chronicler passes on the members of the ruling caste, whichever their camp, was no doubt shared by the *raʿaya* in general. He describes the rout of Ahmad Ifrang's followers when the leaders of the opposing party enjoined them to surrender, failing which their houses were to be looted. "They lost consciousness." Those who were accustomed to looting took flight; those who had positions, pay, and villages, feared for their possessions, and many defected (68/386). Conversely, when the Qasimite amirs attacked ʿUmar Agha's house, the *ʿaskar* "cried out, 'Allah! Allah!' ... They did not think of making war or fighting (their adversaries). All the men had only one thing on their mind, the looting of the provisions and riches" that were in the houses (69/387).

With the same neutrality the author reports the recantations of the shaykhs of al-Azhar, who had been bribed by both parties in order to obtain the *fatwas* that would legitimize their attacks upon their opponents. When the Janissaries refused to reintegrate "the eight", the latters' allies "sent a great deal of money to the mosque of al-Azhar for the *ʿulamaʾ*. They asked for a *fatwa* authorizing them to fight the other party ... They were given the *fatwa* they had asked for. That is how it was for them. As for Ahmad Odabashi, he also sent considerable sums of money to al-Azhar mosque for the *ʿulamaʾ* and he obtained the *fatwa* he had asked for" (9/352). It is therefore not surprising that the chronicler shows no emotion when he writes of the exile, at the end of the civil war, of the writers of the *fatwa* given to the vanquished party. He merely recounts the names of the Hanafi

[16] Al-Damurdashi, *al-Durra al-Musana*, 162/94.

and Maliki shaykhs who were banished, without further comment (86-87/397).

V. THE OPUSCULE OF ʿALI AL-SHADHILI AND JABARTI

There remains for me to try to situate ʿAli al-Shadhili's text in Egyptian historiography of the eighteenth century. I have already indicated that ʿAli al-Shadhili belonged to a tradition quite independent from that of the "military" texts written in a very particular environment. There can be no suggestion of any relation between Shadhili's work and Ahmad Shalabi's. An eye-witness of the events of 1711,[17] and benefiting from relations with the ruling caste, Ahmad Shalabi had at his disposal personal, and obviously very reliable, sources of information. On the other hand, al-Jabarti, who had no personal access to information until after 1770, made abundant use of earlier works, in particular the text of Ahmad Shalabi, though he tries to suggest otherwise. In fact, Jabarti copies Ahmad Shalabi word for word in his account of the events of 1711. Jabarti also knew of ʿAli al-Shadhili's manuscript and the "military" chronicles, as he himself points out.

A comparison between Jabarti's text and that of Ahmad Shalabi which he used helps us to establish what Jabarti owes to other contemporary sources. The cuts made by Jabarti (only 18 paragraphs out of 136) shed some light on his historical methods. But it is the fairly rare additions and the exceptional shifting of information in relation to Ahmad Shalabi that must mainly hold our attention since they may show how Jabarti completed and modified his model, and from what sources he drew his account.

Apart from very brief alterations of Ahmad Shalabi's text involving a few words or names, Jabarti's chronicle includes only two important additions. The first concerns the circumstances surrounding the death of Iwaz Bey, which are dealt with only briefly by Ahmad Shalabi (114/241). The details given by Jabarti (I, 44) on the place, on the course of the drama and on Ayyub Bey's reaction seem to have been taken from al-Damurdashi (156/91). Jabarti may also have been inspired by ʿAli al-Shadhili (44/373), but the latter gives a version according to which Iwaz's death was not immediately known to his amirs, a twist not taken up by Jabarti. The second addition concerns the letter written by Ayyub Bey to Ibrahim Bey, after the death of Iwaz Bey (I, 44), which is mentioned neither by Ahmad Shalabi nor by ʿAli al-Shadhili, but which appears to have been drawn by Jabarti from al-Damurdashi's chronicle (158/92).

[17] Ahmad Shalabi behaved sometimes like a true "reporter." After the fall of the amir Ayyub Bey's residence which signalled the end of the crisis, Ahmad Shalabi mentions that he had visited the palace and had seen the bodies of four children who had been slaughtered in the palace's harim (119/246).

Another important point of difference between Ahmad Shalabi and Jabarti is the date of the account of the Qasimite amirs' meeting, held in Qansawh Bey's palace, during which Yusuf al-Jazzar was promoted to the rank of *sanjaq bey* and was nominated as *amir al-hajj*. Ahmad Shalabi places this episode at the end of the events of 1711, on the 27th of July (123/250). Al-Damurdashi (91/157-158) and ʿAli al-Shadhili (50/376-377) date it the day after the death of Iwaz Bey, a more logical version which was adopted by Jabarti (I, 44). In this case, Jabarti takes inspiration, sometimes word for word, from al-Damurdashi's account and like him places at that moment the elevation of Ismaʿil, Iwaz Bey's son, to the rank of *sanjaq bey*. This promotion of Ismaʿil Bey ibn Iwaz is not mentioned by ʿAli al-Shadhili.

In the extremely rare cases where Jabarti diverged from his practically constant model (Ahmad Shalabi), he found inspiration mainly in al-Damurdashi's text and used ʿAli al-Shadhili's opuscule but very little, if at all.

VI. CONCLUSION

ʿAli al-Shadhili's opuscule is of real interest for those seeking a full understanding of the events of 1711, as much for the abundant information he supplies on the course of the crisis as for the indications he provides on the state of mind of the inhabitants of Cairo who were the victims of the conflicts arising between factions within the ruling caste. Although Jabarti knew of ʿAli al-Shadhili's text he seldom seems to have used it. When not following Ahmad Shalabi's text, Jabarti found al-Damurdashi's chronicle a greater source of inspiration. The *Dhikr*, which disappeared for about two centuries, is a totally isolated element in Egyptian historiography of the eighteenth century.

YUSUF AL-MALLAWANI'S *TUHFAT AL-AHBAB* AND AHMAD SHALABI IBN ʿABD AL-GHANI'S *AWDAH AL-ISHARAT*

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For too long the Ottoman centuries of Egyptian history (1517-1798) have been said to be a "dark age," a period of economic, social, political, intellectual and moral decline that was only halted by the French occupation (1798-1801) and the reawakening of Egypt under the prodding of Muhammad ʿAli Pasha (1805-1849). It is entirely incorrect to argue, as some historians have done, that the Egyptian school of historians added little or nothing of significance between the chronicle of Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Iyas, which covers the late Mamluk period and the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, and ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Hasan al-Jabarti's famous work of the early nineteenth century. In fact, there existed during the period between these two historians an indigenous school of chroniclers whose work is finally being published and appreciated.

This school of Egyptian historians of the Ottoman centuries has two distinct branches of authors, namely, the *ʿulama'* and the *ojaqlis* (regimental troops). These two groups of authors have left us a series of interrelated chronicles and biographical dictionaries that provide important information on Egyptian affairs during the Ottoman period. Some of these works have now been published, while others which have attracted the interest of a new generation of scholars will soon be published.[1]

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[1] Among the published chronicles are Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abi ʾl-Surur al-Bakri, *Kashf al-Kurba fi Rafʿ al-Tulab*, edited and annotated by ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim, *al-Majalla al-Taʾrikhiya al-Misriya* 23 (1976); Muhammad al-Burullusi al-Saʿadi, "Bulugh al-ʿArab bi Rafʿ al-Tulab," edited and annotated by ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim, *al-Majalla al-Taʾrikhiya al-Misriya* 24 (1977); Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani, *Awdah al-Isharat fi man tawalla Misr al-Qahira min al-Wuzaraʾ wa ʾl-Bashat*, edited and annotated by ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim, (Cairo, al-Khanji Bookshop), 1978; Ibrahim ibn Abu Bakr al-Sawalihi al-Hanbali al-ʿUfi, *Tarajim al-Sawaʾiq fi Waqiʿat al-Sanajiq*, edited and annotated by ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim, (Cairo, Institut Français de Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1986); al-Amir Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi, *Kitab al-Durra al-Musana fi Akhbar al-Kinana*, edited and annotated by ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-

The historians of these two branches are of the same quality as Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Iyas and ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Hasan al-Jabarti; in some areas they are even superior to them. It is not an exaggeration to argue that virtually all of al-Jabarti's history of the Ottoman period is copied from the earlier writings of these neglected historians.[2] I would contend that the viewpoint of the Egyptian historians of the Ottoman centuries towards history was scientific, little different from the viewpoints of Ibn Iyas and al-Jabarti. They felt that history is the standard by which to judge events, discover falsifications, determine victors and identify the vanquished. They also thought that history teaches important lessons, offers advice, and benefits those who are clever enough to learn from history.[3] They did not simply cite the events, but sought out the facts, investigated the events about which they wrote to ascertain the truth, and recorded their findings as best they could. Both Yusuf al-Mallawani and Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani fit this pattern and produced important chronicles of the Ottoman centuries that cannot be ignored.

The evidence we have on Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani comes from information he provides about himself and his family in his chronicle *Awdah al-Isharat*. He was born in the last quarter of the seventeenth century in Egypt. His father, ʿAbd al-Ghani, who was a shaykh at al-Azhar, died of the plague which struck Egypt in 1097/1685.[4] It was an event of which the young Ahmad was conscious. Ahmad later had two sons of his own die the same day, on Shawwal 18, 1148/March 1, 1736.[5]

Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim, (Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1989); Ahmad Hasan al-Rashidi, *al-Safaʿ wa ʾl-Ibtihaj bi Dhikr Wali Imarat al-Hajj*, edited and annoted by Layla ʿAbd al-Latif Ahmad, (Cairo, al-Khanji Bookshop, 1980); ʿAbd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Ansari, *al-Hajj wa Tariq Makka al-Mukarrama*, edited and annotated by Ahmad al-Qasir, (Riyadh, Dar al-Yamama, 1403/1983).

[2]On al-Jabarti's massive borrowings from Ahmad al-Shalabi, see my article in *ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, Dirasat wa Buhuth*, edited by Ahmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karim (Cairo: Wizarat al-Thaqafa, al-Maktaba al-ʿArabiya, 1976), 183-207, and on his borrowings from Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi see the contribution by Daniel Crecelius in this volume.

[3]See Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, edited by Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), Vol. I, 8-9 (page 4 of Arabic original) and Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani, *Awdah al-Isharat*, 95-96.

[4]Ahmad Shalabi, *Awdah al-Isharat*, 179.

[5]*Ibid.*, 609.

Ahmad Shalabi was himself educated at al-Azhar. He attended lectures of various *ʿulamaʾ*, but particularly of Shaykh Muhammad al-Zurqani, the Shaykh al-Sunna.[6] Ahmad Shalabi himself adhered to the Hanafi rite and was particularly interested in sufism. He was broadly educated and well read. It is mentioned that he read histories and the works of earlier chroniclers. Because of his reputation for being widely read and cultured he was asked by friends to write a history of Egypt.[7] *Awdah al-Isharat* is the product of that request.

It is clear that Ahmad Shalabi was well-to-do and lived a comfortable life, so he didn't have to ask others for assistance. He had a broad range of social contacts, including prominent sufi leaders from among the Sada al-Bakriya and Wafaʾiya. He was especially close to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Khalaq al-Sadat, the shaykh al-Wafaʾiya in his day.[8]

Ahmad Shalabi applied two organizing principles in assembling his data. These are the chronological and the biographical. The title of his chronicle, *Awdah al-Isharat fi man tawalla Misr al-Qahira min al-Wuzaraʾ wa ʾl-Bashat*, informs us immediately that he will organize his data in a traditional manner around the regimes of the Ottoman governors. He notes the date of arrival in Egypt of each governor, the length of his stay in years, months and days, and the date of his departure. He then mentions in chronological order the major events that occurred during that governor's administration. When a governor is dismissed or completes his tenure our historian gives the same pertinent information about the new governor's arrival and tenure and begins to relate the major events that occurred during that governor's period.

In recording the events of each governor's tenure Ahmad Shalabi maintained high standards of scholarship. He reports events with which he himself was contemporary or personally witnessed and relies on the works of his predecessors for the periods with which he was not contemporary. It is clear to me that he cross checked his data so that he could be precise in recording the information in his chronicle, for he mentions that after writing parts of his chronicle he would make revisions, change some words, or correct it. He was often critical of the events with which he was

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[6]*Ibid.*, 204, lines 7-8.

[7]*Ibid.*, 96-100.

[8]*Ibid.*, 358-359.

contemporary or had personally witnessed. In 1110/1698 his teacher, Shaykh Muhammad al-Zurqani, admonished him for being too critical, advising him, "Ahmad, accept and don't criticize."[9]

He frequently gives the source from whom he derived information to which he was contemporary or notes that he himself was an eyewitness of the event he records. On almost every page of the manuscript he notes the source for his information. Numerous examples demonstrate this technique. He notes, for instance, that "A Maghribi merchant told me,"[10] "that day I was standing in a house at Bab al-Shaʿriya,"[11] "I saw with my own eyes,"[12] "I went to him and saw him standing inside,"[13] "I was standing (nearby) when the looting was done,"[14] "an honest man was beside me,"[15] "Many persons I trusted told me,"[16] "the strangest thing that Shaykh Mansur al-ʿAttar told me,"[17] "One I trust told me,"[18] "the day of the demolition I entered,"[19] "a man serving in the Maristan told me,"[20] "Muhammad al-Jiddawi swore,"[21] or "I saw in one of the histories."[22]

It is obvious from these examples that Ahmad Shalabi related the events he recorded to their sources. The following examples also demonstrate that he made editorial comments on some events and took sides in some of the conflicts: "Glory to God, the one who honors, the one who humiliates,"[23] "In every age there are states and men,"[24] "My brothers, I

[9] *Ibid.*, 204, 228, 496.
[10] *Ibid.*, 189.
[11] *Ibid.*, 189.
[12] *Ibid.*, 193.
[13] *Ibid.*, 204.
[14] *Ibid.*, 207.
[15] *Ibid.*, 210.
[16] *Ibid.*, 238.
[17] *Ibid.*, 317.
[18] *Ibid.*, 339.
[19] *Ibid.*, 481.
[20] *Ibid.*, 593.
[21] *Ibid.*, 450.
[22] *Ibid.*, 444.
[23] *Ibid.*, 213.
[24] *Ibid.*, 367.

was mistaken about the strength of that man,"[25] "We shared cordiality and love,"[26] "We met him, listened to him, God forgive him."[27]

From the above examples, it can be seen that Ahmad Shalabi provided eyewitness authority, sought out people he trusted to relate to him information for his chronicle, and consulted earlier sources. He offered his own opinion of some events, sometimes being critical to the point where his teacher tried to restrain him. His chronicle provides a trustworthy survey of the period from the arrival of the Ottomans to the year 1150/1737. We shall survey below the events which he recorded in his book.

The *Tuhfat al-Ahbab bi man malaka Misr min al-Muluk wa ʾl-Nuwab* identifies its author, Yusuf al-Mallawani, as one of the most respectable scholars, one who loved both the history of the Islamic *umma* in general and of Egypt, his homeland, in particular. He unfortunately neglected to tell us about himself in his chronicle, so we know nothing about his family background or his own circumstances. It is mentioned that he wrote another book entitled *ʿAyun al-Athar*.[28]

Unlike Ahmad Shalabi, who confines his chronicle to the Ottoman period, Yusuf al-Mallawani devotes a sizable portion of his history to early Islamic and Egyptian history. He opens his work with a review of the period of the Prophet (peace be upon him), covering his *hijra* to Medina, a description of his home, his horse, and the life he led.[29] He then writes about the period of the four orthodox caliphs.[30] In turning to Egyptian history, al-Mallawani briefly goes all the way back to Egypt's pre-history, the floods, the periods of the pharaohs, the Greeks, the Romans, the coming of the Arabs and the periods under the governors.[31] He mentions the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid states as well as the various regimes that governed Egypt until the rise of the mamluk sultanate.[32] Only then does he begin the history of Egypt under Ottoman rule.[33]

[25] *Ibid.*, 429.
[26] *Ibid.*, 429.
[27] *Ibid.*, 489.
[28] Yusuf al-Mallawani, *Tuhfat al-Ahbab bi man malaka Misr min al-Muluk wa ʾl-Nuwab*, Cairo, Dar al-Kutub, Manuscript No. 5623, pages 19A-23B.
[29] *Ibid.*, pages 5A-14A.
[30] *Ibid.*, pages 14A-16A.
[31] *Ibid.*, pages 17A-23B.
[32] *Ibid.*, pages 23B-45A.
[33] *Ibid.*, page 45A-49B.

Al-Mallawani is noted for his scholarly honesty, for he mentions the sources upon which he relied for his review of each historical period. If he found controversy among the sources he would note, "There is disagreement among the sources about some of these histories."[34]

In opening his chapter on the Ottoman period he recounts the establishment of the Ottoman state and the extent of its domination. He begins with the era of Sultan Sulayman Shah, following his campaign from Mahan near Balkh in 910/1213 to his death in the Euphrates River and then reviews the expansion of the Ottoman dynasty until its momentous conquest of Constantinople on May 29, 1453. Al-Mallawani recounts how the Ottoman sultans enlarged their holdings in Europe and the campaigns against the Persians, which brought the Ottoman Sultan Selim in conflict with the mamluk state of Egypt and Syria. He retells the conflict between Sultan Selim and the Mamluk sultan Qansawh al-Ghawri, how the Mamluk army was defeated at Marj Dabiq near Aleppo in 922/1516 and how the Ottoman force defeated Tuman Bey at al-Ridaniya on January 26, 1517.[35]

Al-Mallawani then covers the subsequent history of Egypt under Ottoman rule by organizing his data around the period of each governor. For the periods before he himself could give an eyewitness account al-Mallawani relied upon earlier chronicles. For the regimes with which he was contemporary he tried to write what he saw and heard. Sometimes he moved to the locale of important events that were transpiring to become an eyewitness to the events so he could certify the accuracy of his account. In recording information he obtained orally from others he would usually note "the respected clerk of the *bayt al-mal* ʿAbd al-Karim told me,"[36] "Bandits attacked us, depriving us of water and food. They panicked the people and plundered them,"[37] or "One whom I trust, and he was close to ..., told me."[38] His criticism of events was short, but pointed, such as "As you owe, you shall be owed,"[39] or "Glory to God, the one who humiliates."[40]

Al-Mallawani continued recording the events through which he lived until his death in 1131/1719. His student and friend, Murtada Bey ibn Hasan

[34] *Ibid.*, page 4B.

[35] *Ibid.*, page 50B-62A.

[36] *Ibid.*, page 117A.

[37] *Ibid.*, 137A.

[38] *Ibid.*, page 141B.

[39] *Ibid.*, page 122A.

[40] *Ibid.*, 122A.

Bey al-Kurdi, continued al-Mallawani's chronicle as a *dhayl* until the year 1136/1724.[41]

The Mallawani chronicle is an extremely important source for the political, social and cultural history of Egypt in the Ottoman period. Al-Jabarti relied on it and took parts of his reconstruction of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from it.[42]

We are now in a position to make further comparisons between the two authors. The two authors did not simply write selected episodes, but the complete histories of the periods to which they themselves were eyewitnesses. They not only recorded the histories of the Ottoman governors, but of Egyptian society in general, and their objectivity permitted both to compose trustworthy chronicles of the actual events. Each recorded important information about the political, social and economic life of the Egyptian people.

Both authors portrayed the Ottoman regime in Egypt as being the most powerful during the earliest period, from the initial conquest to the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century. During that period the Ottoman governors were able to put down local rebellions or threats to Ottoman rule, but with the death of Sultan Sulayman al-Qanuni (1566) the power of the governors of Egypt began to decline and Ottoman rule, though not removed, was challenged.

As trouble within the Ottoman garrison forces erupted into insubordination, the old mamluk element in Egypt which the Ottomans had suppressed, but not eliminated, reemerged. Mamluk amirs soon came to

[41] *Ibid.*, pages 180A-202B.

[42] Jabarti does not always quote al-Mallawani *in toto*, but edits his text. Compare, for instance, several selections from the two texts. Al-Mallawani, 116A-116B: "On the 15th of Muharram, 1107, all the poor and beggars in Cairo, whether man, woman or child, assembled and went up to the citadel. They stood in the courtyard of the diwan and called for their minister, informing him that they were starving because of the shortage (of food). When no one responded to them they began to stone all those who were in the diwan, including the governor. The governor then drove them away, so they went to al-Rumayla (Square) and looted all the harvest stored there, including wheat, barley, beans, etc. They also entered the shop containing the harvest of the *katkhuda*, which was full of barley and beans. This event was the beginning of shortages in all kinds of food ... " Al-Jabarti, Vol. I, 26: "In the middle of Muharram of 1107 all the poor and beggars, whether man, woman or child, assembled and went up to the citadel where they stood in the diwan's courtyard. They cried out with hunger, but no one responded, so they began to throw stones, whereupon the governor drove them away. They then descended to al-Rumayla and looted the grain depots there, the wheat depot and the shop belonging to the *katkhuda* of the governor, which was full of barley and beans. This event was the beginning of shortages.

control some of the most important administrative posts, both in the central administration in Cairo and in the village administrations. By controlling key positions within the financial administration, such as the customs administration, the *ruznama*, and the system of agricultural tax farms (*iltizam*) they seized responsibility for the direction of Egypt's domestic affairs. The resurgence of mamluk power was clearly recognized by Ottoman governors, for upon his arrival in Cairo Muhammad Pasha al-Nishanji (1721-1722) told the mamluk amirs, "You are the safeguard of the Sultan and the state, and we are guests here and the Sultan consults only you about affairs of his state."[43]

Soon the Ottoman central government could not deny requests sent by the mamluk amirs for the dismissal of a governor and the dispatch of a replacement. Some of the important decisions of state were not even made in the governor's council in the citadel, but in meetings held in the private residences of the mamluk amirs. These meetings were called *jam'iyat* (sing., *jam'iya*) and were a kind of mamluk council. It was frequently in these councils that the mamluk beys and their allies in the Ottoman garrisons decided what they would impose upon the Ottoman governor or what issues they would report to the Sultan. In this manner the *jam'iya* became an effective council in discussing and managing the affairs of Egypt.

As mamluk power in Egypt increased, the various mamluk factions soon were in conflict over the control of the highest administrative posts and the supervision of Egypt's tax structure. Even the Ottoman garrisons fell under mamluk control and soon the Ottoman governor could do little without consulting them or offer an opinion different from theirs.[44] The Ottomans were rulers in name only; in reality everything was in the hands of the mamluk amirs.[45] Without control over its own institutions in Egypt, the Ottoman central government watched helplessly as its administration in Egypt was effectively challenged by the mamluk factions and its military garrison was absorbed into the mamluk regime.

Both chroniclers also portrayed the economic unrest of the Ottoman period. The devaluation of the currency, droughts and plague are prominent tendencies that both authors cite in explaining the economic decline of Egypt in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

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[43]Ahmad Shalabi, 321.

[44]*Ibid.*, 220.

[45]'Abd al-Rahim 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Rahim, *al-Rif al-Misri* (Cairo: 1974), 85.

The first incident of counterfeiting reported in the Ottoman period comes as early as the regime of 'Ali Pasha al-Sufi (February 14, 1564—April 20, 1566) when the new coins minted by the Cairo government were illegally diluted with copper. The governor ordered the mint to mix "thirty copper dirhams with every one hundred silver dirhams. It was a burden. The citizens rose up and there were a lot of thieves and corruptors."[46] That reflected on the local market. Prices rose and subsequently counterfeiting increased throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such incidents led to economic dissatisfaction and disturbances in the affairs of the people.

The problem of a low Nile is not the result of Ottoman rule, but is as old as the Nile itself. It is a problem our two chroniclers faithfully reported. In some years, and for natural reasons, the annual Nile flood did not reach expected levels, which meant that not all the cultivable lands would receive their necessary supply of water, causing a deficient harvest. In this circumstance prices rose to exaggerated heights as merchants exploited the situation to their advantage, controlling prices and hoarding the available grain to maximize their profits in a time of want.

During the regime of 'Ali Pasha (August 10, 1601—September 1, 1604) a serious shortage of grain forced the people to "snatch dough from the dough bowls and bread from the market." Even the governor tried to exploit the situation to his financial advantage by selling grain to foreigners for high prices.[47] The most serious crisis resulting from a low Nile occurred in 1695, when the people were forced to go to the governor's diwan in the citadel shouting, "We are starving! We are dying from high prices! They then descended to al-Rumayla Square, broke into the storehouses and stole all the wheat, beans and barley. They also plundered the grain depot of the governor, which was full of beans and barley. The inhabitants of al-Fayyum descended on Cairo and filled the streets, lanes and alleyways. This crisis lasted until the Nile water increased and the lands were irrigated and distributed to them."[48]

The Ottoman government was not prepared to deal with matters of public health which, anyway, it did not think was its concern. Widespread epidemics and plagues therefore attacked the populace without mercy, taking away many of the productive elements such as artisans and laborers. During the regime of 'Ali Pasha al-Silahdar (August 10, 1601—September

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[46]Ahmad Shalabi, 115; Yusuf al-Mallawani, page 85A.

[47]Ahmad Shalabi, 127.

[48]*Ibid.*, 197; Yusuf al-Mallawani, page 117A.

1, 1604) the prayer for the dead was said one thousand times a day at al-Azhar for a period of 35 days. In the reign of Kara Husayn Pasha the prayer for the dead was offered to 600 souls a day.[49]

The long term economy of Egypt was adversely affected by these frequent plagues, for among the people carried away by the frequent attack of these epidemics were young people who were already part of the work force and who were responsible for producing the next generation. Such wide-spread epidemics not only emptied villages and destroyed crops, but affected the gathering of existing harvests and therefore caused high prices. These crises affected the people severely.[50]

Both chroniclers offer clear insights not only into the political and economic conditions of Ottoman Egypt, but also into the various levels of Egyptian society. *Tuhfat al-Ahbab* and *Awdah al-Isharat* both demonstrate the basic social cleavages within Egyptian society during the Ottoman period, portraying a society divided most basically into "the rulers and the ruled." The ruling class composed of Ottoman and mamluk officials remained basically isolated from the general population, distributed the administrative and supervisory posts among themselves, lived a lifestyle beyond the imagination of the common Egyptian, and treated both commoners (*ra'aya*) and even rich merchants outside their political circles with contempt and cruelty. Even soldiers sent to the villages to administer their masters' tax farms assumed dominant positions over the farmers, who were terrified of the extreme arbitrariness and severity of these representives of the central tax administration.[51]

While there were distinctions within the ruling class based on social standing and positions held within the administration, it is clear that the entire ruling group lived as a privileged class isolated from the rest of society. This group was distinguished not just by its behavior or way of thinking, but by its extravagent lifestyle, which included expensive clothes, palaces, and retinues. Individuals within this ruling group were called dignitaries of state (*al-a'yan*), amirs, or people having the last word in the country's affairs. Many engaged in commercial activities which produced an

[49]Ahmad Shalabi, 128; Yusuf al-Mallawani, page 89B.

[50]Ahmad Shalabi, 433-435, 439-442.

[51]*Ibid.*, 312-444.

abundant stream of money which permitted them to live at a level far above the reach of the average Egyptian.[52]

Our authors did not use sophisticated class analysis in describing Egyptian society, but divided the populace into only two distinct groups, the rulers and the ruled. The ruled, referred to as the *ra'aya* or *'amma*, comprised the overwhelming majority of the population and, in a society marked by power and ethnicity as well as wealth, included even rich merchants drawn from the native or non-mamluk, non-Ottoman groups. Both Ahmad Shalabi and Yusuf al-Mallawani note the suffering of the majority of the populace that lived in the villages. This social element could not escape its enormous burdens, whether economic, political or social, because it could not abandon its villages or escape its responsibilities. The peasants would complain that "they had no escape." If they ran away from one corvee they would simply be recruited for another. In addition to working their own lands, the peasants were recruited to strengthen dikes, dig or clean existing waterways, plow and cultivate the special lands set aside for the tax farmer (*al-multazim*), and pay additional taxes for the benefit of the central administration or the troops who were stationed in the province to provide protection for them against the bedouins. When a crop was ready for harvest the peasants often endured the plundering of their possessions and harvest by the bedouins (*al-'urban*). When the central government would send troops to drive off the bedouins the peasants were expected to contribute additional taxes to pay for this protection.[53]

This was the social situation painted by our two authors. There was a huge social gap between the rulers and the ruled, which resulted in the majority of Egyptians suffering in anguish and misery from local problems (such as the bedouins and oppressive taxation) or under the oppression of a grasping administration in Cairo. To the governing mamluk-Ottoman class the word *fallah* (peasant, farmer) meant servant in the custom of the time.[54]

Both chronicles also make frequent references to other social groups below the ruling class, such as the guild members, the bedouins, and intellectuals. Both chroniclers frequently mentioned the death of important scholars, noted the positions they held within the religious hierarchy, and

[52]*Ibid.*, 406-407.

[53]*Ibid.*, 476.

[54]'Abd al-Rahim, *al-Rif al-Misri*, 85.

included poems from some of the poets with whom they were contemporary. Many of these poems remark the political or economic events of their time.[55]

Both chronicles are therefore rich in information relating to the social, economic and political life of Egypt in the Ottoman period. Both are major sources for the history of Egypt during the Ottoman centuries.

[55]Ahmad Shalabi, 386-387, 488, 593-594.

SULTANS, PASHAS, *TAQWIMS*, AND *MÜHIMMES*: A RECONSIDERATION OF CHRONICLE-WRITING IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EGYPT[1]

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A specter has long haunted eighteenth century Ottoman Egyptian historiography, the specter of ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti. The pioneering works of Egyptian historiography produced thirty years ago by P.M. Holt and David Ayalon[2] were written with al-Jabarti's *ʿAja'ib al-Athar fi 'l-Tarajim wa 'l-Akhbar* firmly in view as the culmination of the Egyptian historical tradition. Rightly or wrongly, then, the tacitly understood goal of Egyptian historiography has been to search out the roots of al-Jabarti's extraordinary chroniele. All earlier chronicles become subordinate to this Jabartian teleology, of interest only in their capacity as possible sources for the later historian's work. This obsession with al-Jabarti, while it has yielded revelatory studies not only of Egyptian historiography but also of Ottoman Egyptian society and institutions, has precluded any broader-ranging effort to assess the writing of narrative history in Egypt during the eighteenth century, to say nothing of the Ottoman period as a whole. At the same time, al-Jabarti's status as heir to the long-dead Mamluk historical tradition has defied any attempt to place his chronicle or any of its Ottoman-era precursors in the context of Ottoman historiography. It is my purpose here to take a tentative step toward such a broader assessment by laying al-Jabarti's chronicle aside (though, inevitably, keeping it in the back of my mind) and turning to a trio of its early eighteenth century forerunners: the

[1]In addition to the other participants in this conference, several people have read this paper and offered valuable suggestions. I wish to thank Professors Halil Inalcik, Cemal Kafadar, and A.L. Udovitch, and the members of Professor Udovitch's dissertation-writing seminar, particularly Abderrahmane el-Moudden. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to Sheree Shipp of Princeton's Computing and Information Technology Center for helping me to reconstruct my file after a bizarre computer mishap.

[2]Most notably Holt, "Al-Jabarti's Introduction to the History of Ottoman Egypt," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XXV, 1 (1962), 38-51; Ayalon, "The Historian al-Jabarti and His Background," *BSOAS* XXIII, 2 (1960), 217-249.

anonymous *Akhbar al-Nuwwab min Dawlat Al ʿUthman*, Mehmed b. Yusuf al-Hallaq's *Tarih-i Misir-i Kahire*, and Ahmad Çelebi's *Awdah al-Isharat*.[3] Meanwhile, I shall not lose sight of the fact that Egypt at the time was the largest province of an empire with historical traditions of its own.

I. THE CHRONICLES AND THEIR AUTHORS

These three chronicles are apt representatives of specifically Ottoman Egyptian history-writing since they treat only the period of Ottoman rule in Egypt, omitting any account of the province's pre-Ottoman past. Hallaq does describe conditions at the end of Qansawh al-Ghawri's reign as a prelude to the story of the Ottoman conquest; *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* and Ahmad Çelebi, after brief preambles, launch right into Khayr Bey's viceroyalty (1517-1522). This exclusively Ottoman periodization seems to be an innovation of these early eighteenth century historians; it stands in marked contrast to the time-spans tackled by their Egyptian predecessors, notably al-Ishaqi (1623) and Ibn Abi ʾl-Surur al-Bakri (1658), whose chronicles begin with the Islamic conquest of Egypt, on the one hand, and with remote antiquity, on the other.[4]

Within the limits of their respective time-spans, moreover, our three chroniclers, along with al-Jabarti, treat a common fund of historical material and employ a common narrative strategy: one based on the strictly chronological presentation of events, with due regard for the official decrees underlying many of them.[5] Furthermore, the texts of all three chronicles, if not that of al-Jabarti, are arranged according to the terms of the Ottoman governors of Egypt, so that they conform to the genre that P.M. Holt dubbed

[3]Anonymous, *Akhbar al-Nuwwab fi Dawlat Al ʿUthman min hin istawala ʿalayha al-Sultan Salim Khan* (to 1126/1714 [Topkapi Palace Library, Hazine 1623]); Mehmed b. Yusuf al-Hallaq, *Tarih-i Misir-i Kahire* (to 1127/1715 [Istanbul University Library, T.Y. 628]); Ahmad Çelebi b. ʿAbd al-Ghani, *Awdah al-Isharat fi man tasarrafa Misr al-Qahira min al-Wuzaraʾ wa ʾl-Bashat* (to 1150/1737), ed. ʿA.ʿA. ʿAbd al-Rahim (Cairo, 1978).

[4]Muhammad ʿAbd al-Muʿti al-Ishaqi, *Akhbar al-Uwal fi man tasarrafa fi Misr min Arbab al-Duwal* (Cairo, 1887); Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Abi ʾl-Surur al-Bakri al-Siddiqi, *al-Rawda al-Zahiya fi Wulat Misr wa ʾl-Qahira* (Cairo, Dar al-Kutub Manuscripts Division, Microfilm No. 1640), abridgement of *al-Kawakib al-Saʾira fi Akhbar Misr wa ʾl-Qahira*.

[5]This contrasts with the much more loosely-constructed, though equally official-minded, chronicle of the ʿAzaban *katkhuda* Ahmad al-Damurdashi, *al-Durra al-Musana fi Akhbar al-Kinana* (British Museum, MS Or. 1073-1074), and its sister chronicles. For a description of these chronicles, see Holt, "Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, ed. Holt (London: 1968), 8-9.

the "sultan-pasha" chronicle. (I shall return to this point presently.) Such similarity, one would guess, must result from a common background or vocation among these chroniclers, if not from outright borrowing. It behooves us, then, to ask just who these three chroniclers were. This venture will prove an arduous one, for unlike al-Jabarti, our three chroniclers never reveal their identities outright, nor can they be identified through the accounts of contemporaries. One must rely almost entirely on inference from the texts of the chronicles.

Akhbar al-Nuwwab, a terse work of only 94 folios, is the most cryptic of our three chronicles. The narrator's voice is almost completely absent from the work. With one exception, to be discussed below, the text contains no personal observations or extraneous anecdotes. Following the briefest stock introduction, heavy with *saj*ʿ, events are summarily listed, date by date. The narrative opens with the governorship of Khayr Bey and ends in 1126/1714, during the governorship of Veli Pasha.

Any clue to the author's identity must be gleaned from incidental evidence within the manuscript. A calligraphic inscription in Arabic on the flyleaf, beneath an illegible *tughra*, reveals that the Topkapi copy of the chronicle belonged to the library of one "Ibrahim Pasha, Melek Ahmed Pashazade."[6] The father would appear to be a Melek Ahmed Pasha who served as governor of Jidda in 1180/1766-67 after holding governorships in Adana, Sidon, Marʿash, Aleppo, and Konya.[7] However, no son named Ibrahim Pasha appears in the *Sicill-i Osmani*. How this Ibrahim Pasha acquired the chronicle is open to speculation. We cannot know whether he encountered or even commissioned it while in Egypt, or whether he came across it in Istanbul.

It is clear, in any case, that *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* had a Turkophone, as well as an Arabophone, audience. Three marginal notes in Turkish, as well as one in Arabic, appear on the early pages of the manuscript. These are written in a hand quite different from that of the copyist. The notes consist of brief summaries of the narrative at various points, as if the bilingual reader were making notes in his native tongue as he went along. It is quite conceivable that the notes are the work of Ibrahim Pasha himself. Yet all but one concern the *qadi ʿaskar* of Egypt, especially when he was named *qaʾimmaqam*,[8] as frequently happened in the early years of Ottoman rule,

[6]The full text is "*min kutub al-faqir ilayhi, ʿazza shaʾnuhu, Ibrahim Pasha Melek Ahmed Pashazade, ʿufiya lahuma*": "Among the books of the one in need of Him, the glorious One, Ibrahim Pasha son of Melek Ahmed Pasha, may they [both] be forgiven."

[7]Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani* (Istanbul: 1308 A.H.), Vol. I, 260.

[8]The *qaʾimmaqam* was the stand-in for the governor on the latter's absence or deposition.

before the office became a beylical prerogative. If Ibrahim Pasha were the note-taker, why would he have been so concerned with the *qadi ʿaskar*? Could the note-taker, alternatively, have been a *qadi*? These random notes raise more questions than they answer.

I suspect that the author of *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* may himself have been a Turk, or at least translating from Turkish. His Arabic is rather pedestrian, lacking the stylistic nicety of an al-Jabarti or an Ahmad Çelebi.[9] The persistent use of *kaf* in place of *jim* in words such as *Frenk* (usually rendered *Ifranj* in Arabic chronicles) also indicates a Turkophone orientation. But the evidence is much too scanty to make an identification with any certainty. What seems possible is that the author was a bilingual of one ethnicity or the other—either a Turk or an Egyptian who was not as well-educated as Ahmad Çelebi. If so, he would represent a key link between Turkish and Arabic narrative sources of this period.

At the very end of *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* occurs a last cryptic hint at the circumstances of the work's composition. In the margin of the final page is inserted an Arabic sentence: *Aqifu huna sanat 1126* ("I am stopping here [at] 1126 [1714]"). The sentence is written in what may be a less careful sample of the scribe's hand and occurs a few lines before the narrative peters out—and it does peter out; there is no conclusion. It would seem that the scribe had been copying a chronicle that continued beyond 1126 but had decided to stop. Thus the work may well have been composed a good many years after 1714.

Mehmed b. Yusuf al-Hallaq's *Tarih-i Misir-i Kahire* appears to have been the source of a great deal of historiographical confusion. Both Babinger and Brockelmann credit the author with an Arabic work entitled *Tuhfat al-Ahbab bi-man malaka Misr min al-Muluk wa ʾl-Nuwwab*, which Babinger believes may be the source for *Tarih-i Misir*.[10] But clearly, Hallaq had direct access to Ottoman Turkish documents. At several points in the *Tarih*, he quotes imperial orders (*hatts*, or *mühimmes*) from the sultan to the governor. These quotations are direct, retaining the distinctive language of such imperial orders. They could not be translations from Arabic. To complicate matters further, Professor ʿAbd al-Rahim identifies a work called *Tuhfat al-Ahbab* ... as a source for Ahmad Çelebi (see his introduction, 29) but gives the author as one Yusuf al-Mallawani. Babinger sheds a bit of light on this matter. One Yusuf b. Mehmed Milevi or Mallawi (d. 1718) produced a Turkish translation of Ibn Zunbul's *Tarikh Ghazwat al-Sultan Salim Khan maʿ al-Sultan al-Ghawri* under the title *Feth-i Misir tarihi* and

[9]Compare notes 57 and 58, below.

[10]Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), 244-245; Karl Brockelmann, *Geschichte des Arabischen Litteratur* (Berlin, 1902), II, 298.

extended it through 1715.[11] If Hallaq and Mallawi/Mallawani are not identical, they are at least close contemporaries.

Certainly, the first section of *Tarih-i Misir-i Kahire*, concerning Selim's conquest of Egypt, cites Ibn Zunbul repeatedly. From this alone one might conclude that Hallaq knew Arabic, although other Turkish translations of Ibn Zunbul existed.[12] In addition, certain features of the *Tarih* indicate a facility in Arabic—particularly in the dating, where Hallaq displays a tendency to use a hybrid of Arabic and Turkish, e.g., *arbaʿa' günü* for Wednesday (f. 169r). Nevertheless, the flow of Hallaq's Turkish narrative reveals a thorough familiarity with Ottoman usages, including titles and devices commonly used in Turkish works but not in Arabic ones.[13] This would imply that even if he were a native Egyptian, he must have been closely tied to the Ottoman administration. His access to sultanic decrees suggests a scribe attached to the governor's diwan.[14] In fact, if Hallaq is identical with al-Mallawi, then what we may have in this historian is a thoroughly bilingual, bicultural man of letters who through his translations provided a bridge between Arabic and Turkish sources on Egypt.

The sticking point in attempting to pin down Hallaq, however, is this bewildering abundance of aliases and possible identities. One possibility is the son of a barber (*hallaq*); another is a resident—or, alternatively, a tax-

[11]Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 57, n. 2, has this work ending on 28 Jumada II 1127, whereas *Tarih-i Misir-i Kahire* ends on 19 Shawwal of the same year. The dating for the two authors is very close. Hallaq notes at one point (f. 218r) that he is writing in 1125/1713. Babinger also credits Yusuf b. Mehmed with copying Şükri's *Selimname*. This same Yusuf may be the author of a *Tarih-i Misir* (Suleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 2148) which draws heavily on Ibn Zunbul and runs to 927/1521. I believe Stanford Shaw's attribution of this manuscript to the Circassian corps scribe Yusuf Efendi to be erroneous since that work, according to Babinger (179-180, where he refers to the author as Yusuf Agha), continues to 1642. Babinger describes Yusuf Agha's work as a prose recension of Şukri, corrected from Ibn Zunbul and other sources. See Shaw, "Turkish Sources for Ottoman Egyptian History," in Holt, *Political and Social Change*, 46.

[12]Brockelmann (II, 298) cites two Turkish translations under the title *Vekayiʿ-i Sultan Selim Han*; one continues to Selim's death in 1520, the other to 1673.

[13]For example, the *Ezin Canib* device for introducing anecdotes (see below, n. 35). This device also appears in ʿAbdülkerim b. ʿAbdurrahman's *Tarih-i Misir* of 1682 (Süleymaniye Library, Hekimoglu ʿAli Pasa 705). Other examples are the habit of calling Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab "*Yeni Kapili*" ("from New Gate" - this could refer either to the Yeni Kapi neighborhood of Istanbul or to a gate of the Cairo citadel) and the habit of calling Nasif Kahya al-Qazdagli Nasuh Kahya with no *nisba* (this appellation also occurs in the *Mühimme-i Misir*).

[14]It is worth noting that Josef von Hammer-Purgstall uses Hallaq's *Tarih* alongside Rashid and other *vakaʿnüvises*, with the attribution "Sohnes Jusufs". See, for example, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1830), VI, 150-152.

farmer—of the Upper Egyptian village of Mallawi.[15] But we must also contend with the epithets Hanifzade (son of the pious) and Ibn al-Wakil (son of the agent), which Babinger attributes to Hallaq and al-Mallawi, respectively. Given that the village of Mallawi was attached to the *Awqaf al-Haramayn*—the imperial *waqfs* that serviced the Holy Cities and that were supervised by the Chief Black Eunuch of the imperial harem—it is conceivable that the "*wakil*" could be the agent of the Chief Black Eunuch, dispatched from Istanbul.[16] In that case, the agent's son could be an Egyptianized Turk. Such a background would account for his apparent linguistic and cultural duality.

Yet another possible avatar of Hallaq is the eighteenth century bureaucrat Zihni Mehmed Berberzade (Mehmed the intellectual, son of the barber), who composed his own *Tarih-i Misir-i Kahire*, now lost. Berberzade was born and spent his entire life in Istanbul, serving as secretary to the imperial diwan, then as *rüznameci* (keeper of the daily account book) at the imperial arsenal.[17] In the former post especially, he would have had easy access to sultanic decrees. While the fact that he never lived in Egypt is dissatisfying, it would have been possible for him to construct a history of Egypt from Ottoman chronicles and imperial decrees alone. Yet if this is Hallaq's true identity, it does not square well with that of al-Mallawani, who must, given his name, have had a direct connection with Egypt. It seems doubtful that all three historians could be the same person.

Ahmad Çelebi b. ʿAbd al-Ghani, the latest and most personally revealing of our three chroniclers, is fairly easily identifiable as a native speaker of Arabic, whether or not he is a native of Egypt. That he is no Turk is plain from the ethnic slurs in which he indulges in his account of a Turkish preacher (*waʿiz*) who appeared in Cairo in Ramadan 1123/1711. The most blatant of these is a reference to "the race of the Turks who did not distinguish between *mim* and *nun*."[18] Nothing in his Arabic prose,

[15]The case for "Mallawi" is strengthened by Babinger's Turkish rendering, "Milevi," with a long first ĭ; this matches Hallaq's rendering of the village name (see, for example, *Tarih-i Misir-i Kahire*, f. 172r). In addition, the long-lived Shafiʿi shaykh Ahmad al-Mallawi is eulogized in a *qasida* as "al-Mallawani." See al-Jabarti (Cairo, 1958-1961), II, 254.

[16]In a paper entitled "The Role of the Kizlar Agasi in 17th-18th Century Ottoman Egypt," presented at the Middle East Studies Association conference, Toronto, November 1989, I noted that Mehmed Agha, a *wakil* of the Chief Black Eunuch Beshir Agha, was present in Egypt at this time.

[17]Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 247. I am indebted to Cemal Kafadar for calling my attention to this author.

[18]"*jins al-Atrak alladhina lam yufarriqu bayna mim wa nun*" (253). He also refers repeatedly to the *waʿiz* as a deceptive Muʿtazilite (254) and gratuitously inserts a note about a Turk who urinated into the window behind Bab Zuwayla and was

moreover, suggests anything more than the barest familiarity with Turkish. Indeed, certain of his orthographic choices suggest an Arabophone struggling to render the Ottoman lexicon.[19] His (Turkish) title, *çelebi*, indicates the son of one of the elite, whether a military grandee or an *ʿalim*. His father, ʿAbd al-Ghani, is styled "*efendi*" in the chronicle's early pages but elsewhere is called "*shaykh*," so that it appears likely that he was an *ʿalim*.[20] Certainly Ahmad Çelebi himself displays an impressive Islamic education in his introduction, where he cites numerous *hadith* collections and histories to justify his own writing. (This introduction is unique among these three chronicles in its effort to convey the historian's attitude; in this sense, it approaches al-Jabarti.) Professor ʿAbd al-Rahim speculates that Ahmad Çelebi was a sufi of some kind. This is not an unlikely inference since the historian makes several references to his shaykh, ʿAli al-Tayluni.[21] Sufi or not, his use of Maliki *manaqib*[22] suggests an affiliation to that *madhhab*.

Awdah al-Isharat runs some 22 years longer than the other two chronicles, ending with the departure of Bakir Pasha in early Jumada II 1150/1737. Afterward, the copyist, one Mustafa Khoja b. Qasim b. ʿAbdallah, a Hanafi from Tripoli writing in 1210/1795, informs us that this was all that Ahmad Çelebi wrote. Bakir Pasha's departure follows two *tarajim* of *ʿulamaʾ*, and indeed, Ahmad Çelebi closes with a farewell to the governor framed in a poetic general epitaph: "May God grant him peace and have mercy on those who have passed from among the Muslim dead to the Day of Judgment."[23]

If we can tentatively identify Hallaq as a scribe and Ahmad Çelebi as an *ʿalim*, then perhaps we can begin to speak of a scholarly/bureaucratic historical consciousness that found expression in the "sultan-pasha" chronicle: hence the scrupulous attention to chronology and dating, official

afflicted with a fatal case of jaundice (252). *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* (ff. 86v-89v) and al-Jabarti (I,131-134) relate this story as more of a religious affair, without ethnic hostility.

[19]For example, *odabasi*; *Korkmaz*; and the persistent use of *shin* for *cim*, as in *cinar*, *corekci*.

[20]See, for example, pp. 95, 178.

[21]e.g., pages 254, 336 (his death). ʿAbd al-Rahim's notion that the epithet *faqir*, used in self-reference, indicates a sufi is misleading, however. It was commonplace for a chronicler to refer to himself in this fashion as a gesture of humility. Notwithstanding, more weight may accrue to this theory when one considers that Ahmad Çelebi's father is also styled *faqir* (p. 638). Ahmad Çelebi's opening reference to "companions" (*ashab*) may also connote a sufi gathering, or *suhba*.

[22]See below, page 65.

[23]"*Katab Allah lahu al-salama wa rahim man mada min amwat al-Muslimin ila yawm al-qiyama*" (p. 638).

decrees, and appointments to high political office. I propose to turn now to the "sultan-pasha" chronicle itself to observe the workings of this historical approach.

II. THE SULTAN-PASHA CHRONICLE RECONSIDERED

In his analysis of al-Jabarti's introductory section, Holt explains that the framework of the "sultan-pasha" chronicle "... is provided by the reigns of the Ottoman sultans and the viceroyalties of their pashas in Egypt. Within this framework, the treatment of events is annalistic."[24] Certainly, no one who has handled a few examples of this type can fail to be struck by the name of a new pasha hovering over the text every few pages, often (in manuscript copies) inscribed in red ink. In this regard, one might modify Holt's terminology slightly. Clearly, the pasha, not the sultan, is the central figure in these chronicles. The enthronement of a particular sultan, and likewise the death or deposition of his predecessor, become functions of the term of a certain governor. Thus, under the rubric of Kara Mehmed Pasha, Ahmad Çelebi records the arrival of news from Istanbul that Ahmed III had taken the throne (209). Sultan and pasha coincide more directly when the chronicler notes, for example, "He was the first representative (*nayyab* [sic]) of Sultan Ahmed b. Mehmed."[25] Nonetheless, the governor remains the protagonist of the narrative.

Apart from this reservation, Holt's definition seems sound. It finds support in the chroniclers' own professed *raisons d'écrire*. Hallaq declares that his purpose is to explain "the affairs of the vezirs sent to Egypt during the time of the sultans after Sultan Selim [I], the events that occurred during their times, and the good works that they did during their viceroyalties."[26] *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* purports to include each of the governors' "monuments and glories, faults and defeats, what occurred in his days, and what is known of the goodness and justice of his rulings,"[27] while Ahmad Çelebi claims that some companions had asked him what "ministers and pashas"

[24]Holt, "Al-Jabarti's Introduction," 39.

[25]Ahmad Çelebi, 210: this of the luckless former grand vezir Rami Mehmed Pasha, packed off to Egypt in 1704 by Ahmed III after bungling the Edirne Vakasi of 1703.

[26]"... *Sultan Selim'den sonra gelen padişahlarin zamanlarinda Misir eyaletine irsal olunan vüzera'larin ahvallari ve zamanlarinda vaki' olan havadisler, ve zaman-i vilayetlerinde itdikleri hayrat ve hasenatlari beyan eylemektedir*" (f. 1).

[27]"... *al-ma'athir wa 'l-mafakhir, wa 'l-ma'ayib wa 'l-mathalib, wa ma waqa'a fi muddat ayyamihi, wa ma yunqal 'anhu min al-jud wa 'l-'adl fi ahkamihi*" (f. 1).

had governed Egypt.[28] The narratives bear out the pasha-centrism of their introductions. Each viceroyalty functions as a sort of limited *tarjama*, opening with the dates of the governor's accession and deposition, and often closing with his *ma'athir* (literally "feats"): the monuments he left behind in Egypt. In some cases, the chronicler will briefly limn the pasha's physical and moral characteristics. Thus, Silahdar 'Ali Pasha (1601-1604) is "fat, courageous, noble, and a shedder of the blood of the corrupt."[29] More rarely, the pasha's career path following his departure from Egypt is noted. The noble Silahdar 'Ali, for a prominent example, returns to Istanbul and attains the grand vezirate on the accession of Ahmed II.[30]

It is in the events (*waqa'i'* or *akhbar*) included in the narrative that cracks begin to appear in the omnipotence of the viceroyalty as an ordering principle. If the viceroyalty were indeed the fundamental basis for ordering events, one would expect these events to be dated, for example, "In the fourth year of Fulan Pasha's reign," much as in certain books of the Bible. To be sure, particularly in the early years of these chronicles, events are vaguely introduced, "And in his days ..." or "And among the events of his governorship ..."[31] The viceroyalty is also used in a more informal sense to recall past events and compare them with present ones. For example, "Such a plague had not been heard of [even] in the time of Ja'far Pasha and 'Ali Pasha."[32] This usage may represent what we might call popular memory, similar to the manner in which modern Americans might refer to events during the Nixon administration, for example.

[28]"*Qad sa'alani ba'd al-ashab fi man tawwala Misr al-Qahira al-Mu'izziyya min al-wuzara' wa 'l-bashat*" (p. 95). This justification bears resemblance to al-Damurdashi's "Some of the brethren had asked me about the events in Cairo among the *beys* and aghas and officers of the seven *ojaqs* since the deposition of Sultan Mehmet [IV]" ("*Fa qad sa'alani ba'd al-ikhwan 'an waqa'i' Misr al-Qahira bayn al-sanajiq wa 'l-aghawat wa ikhtiyariyyat al-saba' ojaqat min 'azlan al-sultan Muhammad*" [p. 1]).

[29]Ahmad Çelebi, p. 127. There is a panegyric Turkish account of this governor's tenure, the *Vekayi'-i 'Ali Paşa of Kelami Efendi* (Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi 612) from which this sort of eulogy could be drawn, although this precise phrase does not occur in the Turkish work.

[30]Ahmad Çelebi, 128. In contrast, Ahmad Çelebi notes that the hapless Rami Mehmed Pasha seems to bring misfortune to every province he governs (211).

[31]For a random example, *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*, f. 18r (Bayram Pasha, 1626-1629). Entries in early Ottoman *taqwims* were dated so many years after landmark political events, such as conquests. In the chronicles derived from these *taqwims*, *hijri* dates were introduced. Refer to n. 41, below.

[32]Ahmad Çelebi, 149. This refers to the plague that occurred under Maqsud Pasha (1642-1644). Ja'far Pasha's plague, called *Fasal Ja'far*, occurred in 1619 (p. 137), Silahdar 'Ali's in 1602 (p. 128).

As a rule, however, events are dated independently, according to the *hijri* calendar. In fact, a certain tension seems to exist within the text between the *hijri* chronology and the viceroyalty as ordering principles. A governor's tenure is, after all, circumscribed by two *hijri* dates, that of his arrival in Egypt and that of the arrival of his successor or, alternatively, of the order for his deposition. As the chronicler nears his own time, he tends to include more and more events in each pasha's term, with the result that the viceroyalty begins to lose its coherence. Events with their corresponding dates come to dominate the narrative while *tarjama* elements are tacked on at the beginning and end of a viceroyalty. With these considerations in mind, I would amend Holt's observation to state that within the framework of the *hijri* calendar, events are grouped according to the viceroyalties of the Ottoman governors—or at the very least, that the viceroyalty and the *hijri* timeline coexist as frameworks for the narrative.

With what events do our three chronicles deal? Reviewing the texts, I have arrived at four major categories of dated *waqa'i'*:

1) political events;

2) natural phenomena, including weather, natural disasters, astronomical phenomena, and the Nile flood;

3) *tarajim*, or obituaries;

4) *'aja'ib*, or curious incidents.

1) Political events—These comprise what Carlyle believed history to consist of: the acts of great men—that is, the political elite, whether in Egypt proper or in the imperial capital. The arrival of a new governor, and likewise the arrival of an imperial rescript ordering a governor's deposition, would fall in this category, as would a sultan's accession and the bestowal of a *sanjaq* upon an amir. Such isolated events merit terse entries of only a few words. But when it comes to accounts of a complex incident—a revolt, a feud, an intrigue—our chroniclers are capable of spinning out long chains of dated *waqa'i'*. These are arranged strictly according to chronology, with few attempts to display causality, although causal links may be implicit in the sequence of events. Hallaq provides some forty pages of often excruciating detail on the revolt of Mehmed Bey al-Faqari in 1659[33] while Hallaq, *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*, and Ahmad Çelebi all contain lengthy accounts of the incidents touched off by the revolt of the Janissary *odabashi* Ifranj Ahmed in 1711. Since chronological order governs the placement of these events,

[33]Hallaq, ff. 158-179. This account could conceivably draw on the chronicle of Ibrahim b. Abi Bakr al-Salihi, *Tarajim al-Sawa'iq fi Waq'at al-Sanajiq* (which I have not read) although Hallaq's account would seem to be much longer. *Taqwim al-Sawa'iq* has been published by Professor 'Abd al-Rahim.

they can be interrupted by *waqa'i'* of the other types and, of course, by the "new pasha" rubric.[34] On the other hand, the dated *waqa'i'* of these accounts are often augmented by stories (*hikayat, masallar*), probably drawn from local lore.[35]

2) Natural phenomena—These events are almost without exception associated with specific *hijri* dates. Weather is usually reported only when it is extraordinary and serves to draw attention to a particular year. A poignant example is the flood that tore through Mecca in Dhu 'l-Hijja 1091/January 1681, uprooting the great plane tree near the Prophet's birthplace and drowning a number of people in the Haram.[36] The cataclysmic nature of these meteorological occurrences puts them on a par with the astronomical oddities and natural disasters also recorded. Natural disasters such as earthquakes, fires, and plagues are usually assigned *hijri* dates only although, as we have seen with regard to plagues, some are informally identified with the terms of certain governors.[37] In the case of meteorological and astronomical phenomena, however, the *hijri* calendar is not infrequently correlated with the Coptic calendar. Solar phenomena in particular seem to invite dual and even triple dating. An eclipse of 1120/1708, for instance, is dated by the *hijri*, Coptic, and Rumi calendars.[38] Dual *hijri* and Coptic dating is often the norm for the most regularly recorded natural event, the annual Nile flood. This event is much more faithfully recorded in *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* than it is in Hallaq and Ahmad Çelebi. The latter two authors seem to consider the flood negligible unless its inadequacy led to drought and famine or some innovation occurred in the cutting of the dam by the governor.[39]

[34]Mehmed Bey al-Faqari's revolt coincides more or less with the term of one governor, Shahsüvaroglu Mehmed Pasha (1657-1659).

[35]In the Turkish chronicles, these often appear under the Perso-Arabic rubric *Ezin Canib*, literally, "from this side": i.e., "on the other hand," "meanwhile."

[36]Hallaq, f. 216v (12 Dhu 'l-Hijja); *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*, f. 37 ("Dhu 'l-Hijja" only); Ahmad Çelebi, 177 (10 Dhu 'l-Hijja). Only Ahmad Çelebi notes that the tree was a plane tree.

[37]Thus, the Meccan flood is the first *waqi'a* of Osman Pasha's tenure (1680-1683).

[38]*Akhbar al-Nuwwab*, f. 63v: "*ghayyat al-Hijja...al-muwafaq li-ghayyat Shubat al-Rumi wa rabi' Barmahat al-Qibti.*" Ahmad Çelebi (p. 220) and al-Jabarti (I, 98) give only the *hijri* date here, but al-Jabarti later (I, 107) provides both Coptic and Rumi dates for a solar zenith while *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* (f. 69v) provides only the *hijri* date. *Rumi* refers to the Ottoman solar fiscal calendar, based on the Julian calendar, adopted in 1676.

[39]Thus the insufficient flood of Muharram 1106/August 1694, which led to famine in most subprovinces and the agreement for the "wet" villages to pay the taxes of the "dry" ones (see Hallaq, ff. 228-229; *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*, ff. 44v-45r;

This attention to natural phenomena, as well as to dated political events, harks back to an ancient tradition of astrological prognostication which produced almanacs known as *anwaʾ*, *zij*, or *taqwim*. These were compiled annually by court astrologers with the purpose of tracking meteorological, astral, and above all solar phenomena; such data were in turn used to predict agricultural trends and political fortunes. Examples of such almanacs from the classical and early medieval eras seem to consist primarily of notations of astronomical and climatic conditions, with appropriate interpretations and prescriptions for proper conduct.[40] By the early Ottoman period, however, *taqwims* had evolved into amalgams of astronomical/meteorological information and notices of landmark political events, particularly military conquests. Such *taqwims* provided the raw material for early Ottoman chronicles, as Halil Inalcik and V.L. Ménage have pointed out. Inalcik, in fact, demonstrated the transformation of a 15th-century *taqwim* into a chronicle and noted, "Our texts contain peculiarly abundant records taken from *taqvims* concerning earthquakes, astronomical phenomena, fires, and pests."[41]

In the absence of physical specimens of Ottoman Egyptian *taqwims*, it would be somewhat audacious to propose that the Ottoman governor of Egypt commissioned an annual *taqwim* that could serve as the source for sundry chronicles. We might rather propose that the *taqwim* tradition permeated history-writing to the extent that certain ranks of chroniclers retained a *taqwim*-esque fixation with natural phenomena and chronological lists of political events even while embellishing their works with other types of *waqaʾiʿ*. Such an ingrained "*taqwim* mentality" would have provided an historiographical standard, accounting for the consistency (if not

Ahmad Çelebi, 189); and the revival of the "ancient" dam-cutting festivities of 1080/1669 (see below, 68 ff).

[40]See R. Dozy, ed., *Le calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961* (Leiden, 1873); Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Bannaʾ, *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannaʾ de Marrakech (1256-1321 J.C.)*, ed. and trans. H.P.J. Renaud (Paris, 1948). See also Charles Pellat's articles on *anwaʾ* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., and *Arabica* I (1955), 17-41.

[41]Inalcik, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt (London, 1962), 157 ff. These calendars were entitled *jedavil al-taqvim*, *jedvel al-ikhtiyarat*, or *ahkam ve ikhtiyarat* (Inalcik's transliteration). *Ahkam ve ikhtiyarat* refer to interpretations of omens and prognostications. See also Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in the same volume. So far as the purely Egyptian historical tradition is concerned, Katib Çelebi's *Kashf al-Zunun ʿan Asmaʾ al-Kutub wa ʾl-Funun* (Tehran, 1967), I, 304, s.v., "*Tawarikh Misr*," mentions a work called *Tarikh aʿyan Misr* by one ʿAli b. ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Ahmad b. Yunus al-Munajjim (the astrologer) who died in 399 A.H.

uniformity) of style and presentation in these "pasha" chronicles.[42] Moreover, the *taqwim* mentality dovetails with and, in fact, may be an integral part of the scholarly/bureaucratic mentality defined above. If bona fide *taqwims* produced by court astrologers were a thing of the past, the art of chronological record- and account-keeping was nonetheless preserved by the various secretaries and scribes of the Ottoman administration.[43]

3) *Tarajim*—We have already noted that the account of a governor's tenure can be regarded as a quasi-*tarjama*. But on a more basic level, the deaths of prominent figures, both *ʿulamaʾ* and amirs, belong to the *waqaʾiʿ* of a given year. As early as al-Ishaqi's *Akhbar al-Uwal* (1623), death notices for such personages are inserted rather crudely at the end of *hijri* years, as "And in the year 1004 [1595-1596] died our master, Shaykh al-Islam Muhammad al-Ramli al-Shafiʿi."[44] By the early eighteenth century, they are better-integrated into the roster of *waqaʾiʿ*. Thus, Ahmad Çelebi has the death of the Maliki shaykh Ahmad al-Nafrawi in 1125/1713 sandwiched between a notice of the plague that caused it and the appointment of Mehmed Bey Qatamish as *amir al-hajj*.[45] But from al-Ishaqi through Ahmad Çelebi, these *tarajim* are clearly connected to the *hijri* year.

This last point must be borne in mind when we assess the extent of al-Jabarti's innovation in *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar fi ʾl-Tarajim wa ʾl-Akhbar*. The received wisdom has long been, on the one hand, that al-Jabarti broke entirely new ground in combining historical narrative with *tarajim* and, on the other hand, that the sole model for his *tarajim* was the collection of great Mamluk biographical dictionaries, whose only descendant was the Damascene *mufti* Khalil al-Muradi's *Silk al-Durar fi Aʿyan al-Qarn al-Thani ʿAshar*.[46] While the style of al-Jabarti's elaborate *tarajim* is influenced by

[42]In this regard, note the lack of astronomical/ meteorological phenomena in al-Damurdashi's chronicle.

[43]This is a very tentative suggestion as to the bureaucratic realities that I suspect underlie the "sultan-pasha" chronicle. I would hope that further research will clarify this matter.

[44]Al-Ishaqi, p. 164, *l*, 13; followed by Shaykh ʿAli al-Maqdisi al-Hanafi.

[45]Ahmad Çelebi, 261 (10 Rabiʿ II). *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* (f. 94v) gives the date of death as 9 Rabiʿ II and places it before the arrival of the order to confiscate the property of the imprisoned imperial harem eunuchs. In Hallaq, the death notice (also 9 Rabiʿ II) appears in the margin of f. 306r, following the notice of Mehmed Bey Qatamish's investiture. Abdul-Karim Rafeq has called my attention to the fact that al-Muradi gives the death date as 10 Rabiʿ II 1120 while al-Jabarti has only 1125.

[46]This is the opinion of David Ayalon in "The Historian al-Jabarti and His Background," 224-225: "... out of all the chroniclers of Ottoman Egypt, al-Jabarti was the only one who included biographies in his historical work. In the Mamluk sultanate there developed an extremely rich biographical literature, unparalleled perhaps in any other Muslim country or region. This kind of historical writing died

the Mamluk dictionaries, the notion of attaching obituaries, if not full-fledged biographies, to historical narrative was, as we have seen, well-established in seventeenth and eighteenth century Egyptian histories. It is worth noting in this regard that al-Jabarti's *tarajim* appear at the end of a *hijri* year or group of years. They are not presented alphabetically, as was the standard practice in biographical dictionaries, up to and including al-Muradi's. (Al-Jabarti's practice of listing the deceased in order of importance seems to be his own invention.) I would caution, furthermore, against overemphasizing the gap in content between the terse death notices of the early eighteenth century chronicles and the Jabartian biographies since much of the material in al-Jabarti's biographies is *waqa'i'* removed from the main narrative.[47] We should point out, too, that some of his early *tarajim* consist of nothing more than the brief notices of the earlier chronicles, giving only name and year of death.[48] Al-Jabarti's achievement, in sum, seems to have been more one of separation and elaboration than one of synthesis.

4) *'Aja'ib*—These "strange incidents" are the most difficult of the *waqa'i'* to define. One must consider, first of all, whether any strange incident can constitute an *'ajiba*—in which case many of the natural phenomena would qualify—or whether the genre is restricted to those events labelled *'aja'ib*. Taking a middle position would allow us to include curious tales (*hikayat*) which appear to come from popular (perhaps oral) lore but which do not fall in the category of natural phenomena. Obviously, the *'aja'ib* provide a broad scope for the interference of the popular and the personal in the narrative. It should come as no surprise, then, that unlike the other three categories of *waqa'i'*, they are not necessarily circumscribed by dates. Even dated *'aja'ib* may be connected to the tenure of certain governors. Hence Ahmad Çelebi begins his account of a seller of buffalo skins who owned a gray (*azraq*) mule in this fashion: "In the time of the aforementioned 'Abdi Pasha, in the year 1127 [1715], a strange matter

out completely in Egypt under the Ottomans until it was revived by al-Jabarti alone, as a result of Syrian influence" (this last being a reference to al-Muradi).

[47]Thus, al-Jabarti moves the brawl at al-Azhar between the supporters of Shaykh Ahmad al-Nafrawi and those of Shaykh 'Abd al-Baqi al-Gaylani on 11 Muharram 1120/1708 (*Akhbar al-Nuwwab*, ff. 63v-64r; Ahmad Çelebi, 220-221) to the *tarjama* of Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Shubrawi (II, 121-122). His account seems to come from Ahmad Çelebi although *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*'s wording is quite similar. I might add that the incident works much better in its original place since it has nothing directly to do with Shaykh al-Shubrawi.

[48]See, for example, I, 176-177 (Shaykh Ridwan and Shaykh Ahmad al-Marhumi), 181 (Shaykh Sulayman al-Janzuri al-Azhari).

appeared, and one which I suspect is unprecedented ..."[49] *'Aja'ib* can be adapted to both the *hijri* and the viceroyalty chronologies; nonetheless, they do not depend on these chronologies, as do the other types of *waqa'i'*.

Hikayat and Personal Observations

We noted above that our chroniclers on occasion augment their accounts of events with stories (*hikayat, masallar*, more rarely *qisas*) that appear to be taken from local lore. These stories can serve to flesh out a sequence of events, as in the saga of Mehmed Bey al-Faqari or the unrest of 1711-1715, or to play up a certain personage. Frequent among the latter sort of story is the tale of the praiseworthy deeds of one or another prominent figure. In addition to numerous stories of the governor's generosity and justice, a whole body of lore seems to have existed concerning the good works of various military grandees, notably the Janissary *odabashi* Küçük Muhammad and the Qasimi chieftains Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab and Ismail Bey b. 'Iwaz.[50]

Inclusion of such stories gives a chronicle its greatest measure of individuality. Thus, Hallaq's work, among the three early eighteenth century chronicles considered here, stands alone in describing in minute detail the exploits of Mehmed Bey al-Faqari. But of these three histories, Ahmad Çelebi's is no doubt the richest in popular tales of this sort. The chronicler relates anecdotes, not found in the other two chronicles or in al-Jabarti, concerning the Qasimi leader Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab and the Damascene governor Nasuh Pasha (1708-1714). The sources of these anecdotes are, by the chronicler's own admission, *manaqib*: tales, whether written or oral, of the deeds of sufi saints or of the exploits of military grandees.[51]

[49]Ahmad Çelebi, 290: "*Wa fi zaman 'Abdi, al-basha al-madhkur, sanat 1127, zahara amr 'ajib wa adhunuhu lam yataqaddam.*"

[50]See Hallaq, f. 210r (justice of Hüseyin Pasha); Ahmad Çelebi, 288, 295 (Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab); al-Jabarti, I, 238-241 and al-Damurdashi, 20-26 (Küçük Muhammad); al-Damurdashi, 272-275 (Ismail Bey b. 'Iwaz). Hallaq's Hüseyin Pasha tale and al-Damurdashi's Küçük Muhammad tale (which is apparently the source for al-Jabarti's) are virtually identical. In both, the hero resolves the case of a pilgrim who had left a box full of possessions with a deceitful acquaintance. Only the characters' names differ.

[51]Ahmad Çelebi, 188, 195 (Ibrahim Bey); 352 (Nasuh Pasha). Both the Ibrahim Bey stories concern his affinity for Maliki sufis and seem to be drawn from Maliki *manaqib*. Ahmad Çelebi links the latter story to the *manaqib* of Shaykh Ahmad Abu Taqiya. A large body of lore seems to have surrounded Nasuh Pasha. Ahmad Çelebi concludes his story with the stock phrase, "If we mentioned all his *manaqib*, it would take us too long" ("*Law dhakarna jami' manaqibihi, la-tala 'alayna al-hal*"), also encountered in Evliya Çelebi. Inalcik, in "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," 157, notes the importance of written collections of warrior tales (*menaqibnames/ghazavatnames*) as sources for chronicles, adding, "In a society

Hikayat are most commonly employed for the purpose described above: to add colorful detail to the presentation of events and personages. More rarely, they can serve as gateways to quasi-historical explanations. No better example of this phenomenon can be offered than the tale of the mulberry tree that grew on the estate of the Faqari amir Qaytas Bey. Following Qaytas Bey's execution in one of the convoluted consequences of the Ifranj Ahmed affair, Qaytas' diwan chamber was razed and the mulberry tree cut down on the governor's orders. This fact is baldly stated by Hallaq (f. 336v). Al-Damurdashi (206) offers a fleeting and much more cryptic reference to the tree when he depicts Qaytas Bey picking mulberries for ʿAbdi Pasha just before his execution. But in Ahmad Çelebi's chronicle, the tree gains unexpected historical resonance. "Nothing like it had ever been seen in Cairo," Ahmad Çelebi tells us, for the tree was 500 years old. It had once belonged to the Mamluk amir Sudun al-ʿAjami, *atabak* to Sultan Qa'itbay (1461-1495). On mentioning Sudun al-ʿAjami, Ahmad Çelebi launches into a legend familiar to readers of al-Jabarti. This Sudun had two sons, Qasim and Dhu 'l-Faqar, who quarrelled while displaying their *furusiya* skills to the victorious Ottoman sultan Selim I and thus gave rise to the Qasimi and Faqari factions, whose rivalry pervaded Ottoman Egyptian society. The story is clearly spurious,[52] but what is intriguing from an organizational standpoint is how little the tale affects the narrative. It momentarily interrupts Ahmad Çelebi's recounting of the events of Shawwal 1127/October 1715, but that is all. One can only speculate as to Ahmad Çelebi's purpose in inserting it at such a point. But the placement of this tale must be calculated. In a narrative structure dominated by chronology, the "historical gateway" can be only a jarring aberration, however brief.

Finally, the chronicler can leave his stamp on his account of events that occurred during his lifetime by adding his personal observations to his list

imbued with the ghaza spirit *menaqibnames* were usually intended to be read aloud at public gatherings, in the army or in the bazaars."

[52]Sudun al-ʿAjami was killed after the battle of Marj Dabiq and could therefore not have encountered Selim I in Cairo. Furthermore, he had only one son, Sharaf al-Din Yunus. See Ibn Iyas, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt*, ed. and trans. W.H. Salmon (London, 1921), 112-115; *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, ed. and trans. Gaston Wiet (Paris, 1955), I, 341, 344; II, 2, 39. Perhaps because of this historical inconsistency, al-Jabarti refers only to a "Sudun." There were a number of Mamluk amirs with this name. Furthermore, al-Jabarti moves his account of the Faqari-Qasimi split (sans mulberry tree) to the beginning of his chronicle so that it serves as an introduction to conditions in eleventh century (A.H.) Egypt. It is perhaps worth noting that mulberry trees play an important part in Ahmad Çelebi's Nasuh Pasha story. In an attempt to cripple Druze power in Mount Lebanon, Nasuh had his *baltacis* cut down the mulberry trees from which the Druze derived their wealth.

of dated *waqa'iʿ*. He cuts a humble figure in his own text, usually styling himself "the humble/poor one" (*al-ʿabd al-haqir, al-faqir, bu fakir*). Again, Ahmad Çelebi is especially rich in these personal references.[53] In most cases, we have no reason to doubt that the chronicler actually witnessed the events he claims. In at least one case, however, even a personal observation seems to be borrowed. At that point in the prolonged Ifranj Ahmed ordeal when Ifranj Ahmed's forces, with the governor's support, were bombarding the Gate of the ʿAzabs in the citadel, *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*'s author has "a trustworthy source" informing him that the ʿAzabs were paying those sheltering with them 30,000 silver pieces daily (f. 77r). Using identical words to describe his source (*"Wa akhbarani man athiqu bihi"*), Ahmad Çelebi (238) claims to have been informed that Ifranj Ahmed's cannon numbered 11,600—a point also included in *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* a few lines earlier. It is, of course, possible that both authors witnessed, or had access to people who witnessed, this melee. However, the fact that this is the sole personal reference to be found in *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*, in addition to the similarity of the language in the two accounts, makes this notion suspect. The much greater richness of Ahmad Çelebi's narrative in general makes it seem unlikely that Ahmad Çelebi borrowed this passage from *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*. On the other hand, we cannot dismiss the possibility that *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* borrowed from *Awdah al-Isharat*, for, as we have seen, the chronology of *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* is truncated; we cannot assume that it was composed before *Awdah al-Isharat*. A third alternative, of course, is the existence of a common *urtext* for both works.

III. THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN ARABIC AND TURKISH TEXTS

A particularly striking feature of these "pasha" chronicles is that they seem to ignore the barrier between Arabic and Turkish. In the three chronicles under consideration here—two in Arabic, one in Turkish—parallel dating and content can be demonstrated in all of the *waqa'iʿ* categories outlined above. I shall quote a parallel sequence in all three chronicles:the passage dealing with the news of the conquest of Candia in Rabiʿ I 1080/1669, during the viceroyalty of Karakash ʿAli Pasha. This passage is particularly appropriate since it contains most of the categories of *waqa'iʿ* in one relatively succinct section.

Akhbar al-Nuwwab's account follows a mention of Ahmed, *katkhuda* of the previous governor, Ibrahim Pasha, who was imprisoned until he should remit to Istanbul the portion of Ibrahim Pasha's estate that he retained in his possession. *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* continues:

[53]Professor ʿAbd al-Rahim has industriously compiled a list of all personal references in Ahmad Çelebi's chronicle. See his introduction to *Awdah al-Isharat*, 25-28.

On the second of Rabiʿ I in the year 1080 occurred the inundation of the blessed Nile, and the pasha did what was done in ancient [times] in decorating the boats, and shot off the cannon and other things. They had abolished [this custom] since ancient times on the pretext that the soldiers were besieging Crete and there was no place for displays of joy and pleasure.

[An account of the escape and recapture of Ahmed Katkhuda follows.]

That month, thunder fell from the sky with a great noise; it was followed by a West wind that darkened the atmosphere, tore up the trees, and destroyed the minarets. On the night of Thursday, the 8th of Rabiʿ II, a star with a tail [lit., tuft, strand] appeared in the sky after sundown. On the 6th of Jumada II, Musli Agha arrived with an imperial order to equip 200 soldiers for the protection of the port of Jidda. And on that date came the good tidings of the conquest of Crete, known as Candia. The beginning of the siege was in the year 1045 [1635][54], and it was conquered in 1080 [1669]. The duration of the siege was 26 years [sic]; this was a strange thing. Then ʿAli Pasha was ill.[55] He brought the *sanjaqs* to the diwan and made Kenʿan Bey *qa'immaqam*. He made his will and died on a Tuesday night in Shaʿban. Shaykh ʿAli al-Shubramillisi prayed over him, and he was buried in al-Qarafa, in the vicinity of [the tomb of] Imam al-Shafiʿi, near Qir Mehmet Pasha Shahsuvar.[56] They brought his son and dependents down [from the citadel] and installed them in the house of Hüseyin Aga Beyzade overlooking Birkat al-Fil.[57]

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[54]The siege of Candia actually began in 1644; Candia was taken in 1669.

[55]The author uses the Form V verb *tamarrada*, which connotes already being ill.

[56]a.k.a. Shahsüvaroglu Ghazi Mehmed Pasha, governor of Egypt from 1657-1659. See above, n. 34.

[57]*Wa fi thani Rabiʿ al-Awwal sanat 1080 kana wafa' al-Nil al-Mubarak, wa ʿamila al-basha ma kan yaʿmalu fi'l-qadim fi tazyin al-marakib wa darb al-madafiʿ wa ghayrihi, wa kana qad abtaluhu min qadim al-zaman ihtajan fa-anna al-ʿaskar fi muhasarat Kirid wa la maʿna li-izhar al-farah wa 'l-surur....*

Wa fi dhalik al-shahr nazalat saʿiqa min al-sama' laha dawiy ʿazim, wa tabiʿiha rih gharbiyya azlama laha al-jaww iqtalaʿat al-ashjar wa hadamat al-mawadhin. Wa fi laylat al-khamis, thamin Rabiʿ al-Thani, zahara bi 'l-sama' najm lahu dhib [sic] baʿd al-gharb [sic]. Wa fi sadis-ʿashray Jumada al-Akhir, [sic] *warada Musli Agha wa suhbatahu amr sharif bi-tajhiz matay [sic] nafar min al-ʿaskar li-muhafazat bandar Jidda. Wa fi tarikhihi waradat al-bushra bi-fath Kirid al-maʿrufa bi-Qandiya, wa kana ibtida' muhasaratiha sanat 1045 wa futihat sanat 1080, fa-kanat muddat muhasaratiha sitta wa-ʿishrun sana, wa hadha shay' gharib. Thumma*

In Ahmad Çelebi's chronicle, the conquest of Candia is foretold when the last expedition of 1000 Egyptian soldiers is dispatched in Ramadan 1079/1669 (p. 167), before ʿAli Pasha's arrival. The first matter to which ʿAli Pasha must attend on his arrival is the disgruntled Ahmed Katkhuda, who claims the late Ibrahim Pasha's estate and is promptly thrown in prison. Next, Ahmad Çelebi notes:

On the 9th of Rabiʿ I occurred the inundation of the Nile, and ʿAli Pasha ordered the boats decorated according to the ancient custom. The pasha sailed out from Bulaq with the *sanjaqs*, the aghas, and the Shaykh al-Islam to the Nilometer according to the ancient practice. The custom of Egypt had been according to this practice, [but] they had abolished it some years before this date, arguing that since the soldiers had gone up to besiege Crete, there was no place for such entertainment in these days.

[There follows an account of the escape and recapture of Ahmed Katkhuda.]

That month, thunder fell from the sky with a noise like great cannons, followed by a West wind that darkened the atmosphere, tore up the trees, and threw down the minarets. On Thursday, the 8th of Rabiʿ II, a star with tails [lit., tufts, strands] appeared in the sky after the sundown prayer. On the first of Jumada II, Musli Agha arrived with a firman to decorate [the city] because of the conquest of the fortress of Crete known as Candia. The siege had begun in 1059 [1649], and the conquest was achieved in 1080 [1669]; the duration of the siege was 26 years [sic]; this was a thing the likes of which had never been heard of. Then ʿAli Pasha fell ill; he sent for the *sanjaqs* and aghas and consulted with them about making Kenʿan Bey *qa'immaqam*. They were pleased with that [idea], and so he [ʿAli Pasha] made him his proxy and bestowed a *qaftan* upon him. He [ʿAli Pasha] died in Shaʿban of 1080. Shaykh Shubramillisi prayed over him, and he was buried in al-Qarafa in the vicinity of [the tomb of] Imam al-Shafiʿi, near

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inna ʿAli Pasha tamarrada, fa-ahdhar al-sanajiq ila'l-diwan wa jaʿal Kenʿan Bey qa'im maqam, wa awdaha wasiyatahu, wa tuwuffiya fi laylat al-thulatha' min Shaʿban, wa salla ʿalayhi al-Shaykh ʿAli al-Shubramillisi, wa dufina bi 'l-Qarafa bi-jiwar al-Imam al-Shafiʿi bi 'l-qurb min Qir Mehmed Pasha Shahsuvar. Fa-anzalu ibnahu wa ʿiyalahu wa askanuhum bi-manzil Huseyin Agha Beyzade al-mutilli ʿala Birkat al-Fil...(ff. 32r-33r).

Ghazi Pasha. They brought his son down and installed him in the house of Hüseyin Agha Beyzade, overlooking Birkat al-Fil.[58]

Like Ahmad Çelebi, Hallaq foretells the conquest of Candia at the time the final expedition sets out in Ramadan 1079. However, this expedition appears under ʿAli Pasha's rubric and is not followed by a digression on Ahmed Katkhuda. Instead, Hallaq segues immediately into:

> On the 22nd day of Rabiʿ I of the year 1080, the cutting of the [Nile] water was performed according to the ancient custom, and a great decoration and celebration took place. [This] had not taken place since the year '72[59], and the reason was that the pashas made the excuse that "while the grand vezir is at war with the base unbelievers on the island of Crete, it is not proper for us to hold games and entertainments here." ʿAli Pasha was a beneficent, illustrious [person], always looking for an excuse to give *bakhshish*. For that reason he performed [the entertainments] according to custom. May God have mercy on him.

[He then quotes two imperial rescripts concerning the late Ibrahim Pasha's estate and Ahmed Katkhuda's obligation to remit that portion which he retained. He narrates Ahmed Katkhuda's imprisonment, escape, and

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[58] *Wa fi tasiʿ Rabiʿ al-Awwal kana wafaʾ al-Nil, fa-amara ʿAli Pasha bi-anna al-marakib tuzayyanu ʿala hasab al-ʿadat al-qadima, wa rakiba al-basha min Bulaq, huwwa wa ʾl-sanajiq wa ʾl-aghawat wa shaykh al-Islam, ila ʾl-Miqyas ʿala ʾl-hukm al-qadim. Wa kana ʿadat Misr ʿala hadha ʾl-hukm, wa kanu qad abtaluhu qabla hadha ʾl-tarikh bi-sanawat, wa kanu muhtajjin bi-tuluʿ al-ʿaskar ila muhasarat Jirid wa anna hadha ʾl-lahw la maʿna lahu fi hadhihi ʾl-ayyam....*

Wa fi dhalika ʾl-shahr, nazalat saʿiqa min al-samaʾ laha dawiy ka ʾl-madafiʿ al-kibar, wa tabiʿiha rih gharbiyya azlama minhu al-jaww wa quliʿat al-ashjar wa urimat al-mawadhin. Wa fi yawm al-khamis, thamin Rabiʿ al-Thani, zahara fi ʾl-samaʾ najm lahu dhawaʾib, wa kana zuhuruhu baʿd salat al-maghrib. Wa fi ghurrat Jumad al-Thani warada Musli Agha wa maʿahu firman bi-zina li-fath qalʿat Jirid al-maʿrufa bi-Qandiya, wa kana ibtidaʾ muhasaratiha sanat 1059, wa hasala al-fath sanat 1080, wa kanat muddat al-muhasara sitta wa-ʿishrin sana, wa hadha shayʾ lam yusmaʿ bi-mithlihi. Thumma inna ʿAli Pasha marida, fa-arsala khalfa al-sanajiq wa ʾl-aghawat wa ahdarahum wa shawarahum fi ʿamaʾil Kenʿan Bey qaʾimmaqam, fa-radu bi-dhalika, wa jaʿalahu qayyiman mahallahu, thumma albasahu qaftanan. Wa tuwuffiya fi Shaʿban sanat 1080, wa salla ʿalayhi al-Shaykh Shubramillisi, wa dufina bi ʾl-Qarafa bi-jiwar al-Imam al-Shafiʿi, bi ʾl-qurb min Ghazi Pasha. Wa anzalu ibnahu wa askanuhu fi bayt Hüseyin Agha Beyzade al-mutilli ʿala Birkat al-Fil (pp. 168-169).

[59] "yetmiş iki senesinden berü" - i.e., 1072/1661-1662. This date is not entirely satisfactory since it would have fallen when the siege of Candia had been in progress for 18 years. Note, however, how scrupulously Hallaq and Ahmad Çelebi avoid referring to the date at which the ceremonies were abolished as "ancient times," as *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* does.

recapture. Next comes another rescript ordering Siyavush Bey and Mehmed Bey, governor of Jidda, to Istanbul. They were pardoned and returned to Egypt.]

> In the aforesaid month, thunder fell from the sky with a noise like the firing of cannon. Following this, a West wind appeared which covered the face of the sky with darkness and felled many trees and minarets. On the night of the 8th of Rabiʿ II—a Thursday night -a star with a tail appeared. On the 26th of that month, Musli Agha came from the Imperial Threshold with a *hatt-i şerif* ordering 200 Egyptian soldiers to protect Jidda. And on this date, the news that Candia on the island of Crete had been conquered came, and a 7-day, 7-night illumination was held, after a 35-year [sic] siege: the beginning of the siege was in the year 1054 [1644], the conquest in the year 1080 [1669]. In the time of the aforesaid vezir, [he] ordered the repair and plastering of the mosques, *madrasas*, and *khanqas* located in Cairo. Afterward, early in the month of Rajab, he fell ill. As his illness worsened, he gathered the *qadi ʿaskar* and *sanjaq beys* in the divan and said, "Let Kenʿan Bey be *qaʾimmaqam*." Two days later, on the 7th day of Shaʿban -a Tuesday—he died. His funeral was performed at Sabil al-Muʾminin, and he was buried at Qarafa. In accordance with his will, Kenʿan Bey became *qaʾimmaqam*.[60]

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[60] 1080 senesinin Rebiʿ ül-EvvePin yirmi ikinci güni, su kesimi muʿtad-i kadim üzere eylemişdir. ʿAzim tezyinat ve şenlik olmuşdur. Ve 72 senesinden berü olmamişdi, ve sebebi oldur ki paşalar taʿallul iderler idi ki "vezir-i aʿzam, ceziret-i Girid'e [sic] küffar-i haksar ile cengde iken, biz burada la ʿb ve lehv etmek münasib degildir" dirler idi. ʿAli Paşa bir sahib-i kerem devletlu idi, bahşiş virmeye bahane arar idi; ol sebebden ʿadet üzere eylemişdir. Rahmet Allah ʿalayhi....

Ve mah-i mezburda, gökden bir saʿika nazil olup, top atilir gibi sadasi oldu, ve ʿakabinca bir rih-i garbi zuhur idüp, göke [sic] yüzün zulmet bagladi, ve nice agaçlari ve minareleri düşürdü. Ve mah-i Rebiʿ ül-Sani sekizinci gecesi, leylet ül-hamis, bir kuyruklu yildiz zuhur eyledi. Ve mah-i mezburun yirmi altisinda, Asitane'den Musli Aga gelüp, Hatt-i Şerif ibraz idüp, mazmuninda: "Cidde muhafazasiçün ikiyüz nefer ʿasakir-i Misriyeden" dir. Ve bu tarihde, Girid ceziresinde Kandiye feth olundugu müjdesi gelüp, yedi gün yedi gece donanma oldu, otuz beş sene muhasarattan sonra: ibtidaʾ-i muhasarasi sene 1054, fethi sene 1080. Ve yine vezir-i musarilayhinin zamaninda Misir'da vakiʿ olan mescidler ve camiʿler ve medreseler ve hankahlarin taʿmirlerine ve sivatmasina firman eyledi. Baʿdehu, mah-i Receb ül-Haramin evaʾilinde hasta olup, marazi ziyade oldukda, kaziʿasker efendi ve ümeraʾ-i sanacik ve agavati divanda cemʿ eyledi, ve eyitdi ki: "Bundan sonra kaʾim makam Kenʿan Bey olsun" dedi. Baʿdehu iki günden sonra, mah-i Şaʿbanin yedinci güni, ki yevm ül-sülasaʾ, vefat eyledi. Sebil-ül-Muʾminin'de namazi kilinup, Qarafa'da defn olundu, ve vasiyetine göre Kenʿan Bey kaʾim makam oldu (ff. 201v-203v).

The *waqa'i* material of all three chronicles is nearly identical and is governed in all three cases by strict *hijri* chronology. Hallaq is unique in his tendency to eulogize the pasha in *tarjama*-esque fashion. Likewise, his reference to Siyavush and Mehmed Beys is not found in the other two chronicles. Notwithstanding, and despite the syntactical divergences of two very different languages, what strikes one is the consistency of Hallaq's account with that of *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*. There are only two notable divergences in the dating: 1) Hallaq's 22 Rabi' I at the beginning of the passage, in contrast to *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*'s 2 Rabi' I; and 2) Hallaq's failure to place the arrival of Musli Agha in Jumada II rather than in "the aforesaid month"—i.e., Rabi' II. Far more puzzling is the paradoxical calculation of the duration of the siege of Candia. Hallaq's calculation of the siege's duration should by rights be 26 years since he gives the correct starting date of 1054/1644. Likewise, *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*'s calculation, from a starting date of 1045, should be 35 years. Instead, the figures are reversed. This paradox indicates that neither work can have served as a source for the other. If, for instance, Hallaq had copied *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* but corrected the date of the opening assault on Candia, surely he would also have copied the correct calculation of the siege's duration. By the same token, if *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*'s author had noticed that Hallaq miscalculated the duration of the siege, surely he would not have transposed the numerals in the date of the siege's commencement.

Ahmad Çelebi, for his part, dates the beginning of the Candia siege to 1059 although he correctly sets its duration at 26 years. In only one place in this passage, in fact, does he supply the same date as the other two chronicles, namely, 8 Rabi' II, the night of the comet. Nor does he include the order for 200 troops to garrison Jidda. On the other hand, his account in certain respects conforms more closely to *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*'s than Hallaq's does, as, for instance, on the details of 'Ali Pasha's burial or on the reasons for abandoning the old Nilometer-reading ritual. All in all, however, the notion that any of these historians copied from one or both of the others is unsatisfying because of the textual inconsistencies that mar the similarity of content. What these inconsistencies suggest is the presence of as yet unknown sources for all three works.

What these sources were we may never know for certain: perhaps earlier chronicles, perhaps a congéries of record-book entries, official documents, and popular lore cobbled together independently (but always according to the dictates of the "pasha" genre) by each chronicler. In any event, I think that after having examined the authors' texts and pondered their identities, we can safely discard the notion of two mutually exclusive funds of Arabic and Turkish historical material on which Turkophone and Arabophone historians, respectively, drew. The case of *Akhbar al-Nuwwab*'s author and even more so that of Hallaq and his possible avatars suggest the existence of a group of men of letters—spearheaded, perhaps, by the children of Turkish officials on the spot—who functioned with some facility in both languages and who were therefore able to achieve cross-fertilization between the two languages and the two literary traditions. This sort of cross-fertilization was, I believe, part of what it meant for Egypt to have been Ottoman during the eighteenth century. Thus it was not only possible but normal for an eighteenth century Egyptian chronicle, in Arabic or in Turkish, to be consistent with the Ottoman historical tradition even while bearing the marks of its medieval Egyptian precursors.

IV. CHRONICLES AND *MÜHIMMES*

Cross-fertilization of the sort discussed above allows the boundary between Turkish and Arabic to be crossed within the chronicle genre. In addition to this purely linguistic boundary, however, a boundary between genres is also occasionally crossed, namely, that between the narrative chronicle and the official Ottoman document. The crossing occurs in two ways. First, chronicles quote imperial orders; second, imperial orders themselves are composed in the style of chronicles and, in this case, are taken from the reports of events sent to the imperial court by the military grandees of Egypt. In effect, then, this generic boundary-crossing constitutes at the same time a geographic crossing between Istanbul and Cairo, center and province.

As we have already observed in the case of Hallaq, chronicles not infrequently quote orders (*hatt-i şerifs, mühimmes*) sent to Cairo from the imperial court. An order of this sort has manifold effects within the narrative. First of all, the arrival of an agha with the order is itself a dated *waqi'a*, as we saw above when Musli Agha appeared with an order for 200 soldiers to protect Jidda. Second, the execution of the order can create a series of *waqa'i'*. Returning to Hallaq for an example, we find that on 9 Rabi' II 1127/1715, he reports the arrival of 5 *hatts*. The last orders the imprisonment of the former governor, Veli Pasha, and his *katkhuda* until they remit what they owe the Imperial Treasury.[61] This last *hatt* precipitates a little drama of *waqa'i'*. On 19 Rabi' II, a *kapici başi* ("chief doorkeeper," a special messenger) from Istanbul confiscates Veli Pasha's horses and those of his *katkhuda*. On 21 Rabi' II, part of Veli's entourage tries to escape. On 23 Rabi' II, Veli Pasha denies that he owes anything more to Istanbul, provoking a petition to the imperial court. In this sequence, we glimpse the workings of a distinctive form of textual reciprocation. Documents supply

[61] At least four of these *hatts* can be identified as *Mühimme-i Misir*, I, 379-382. Their order in the *mühimme defteri* differs slightly from their order in Hallaq's chronicle.

material for the narrative, both in and of themselves and through the events they precipitate; those events in turn generate further documents.

Hallaq elects to summarize these five *hatts* rather than quoting them verbatim although he does lapse into the *mühimme* text in the third *hatt*. Just before the arrival of these *hatts*, however, he quotes a *hatt* that arrived on 20 Rabiʿ I, containing the oft-repeated warning not to sell provisions to the European Christians. The words are not Hallaq's but those of the sultan:

> Many times before this have I issued to you my imperial order that no part of the provisions is to be given to the European[62] unbelievers. Again, we have heard that the customs agents covet worldly gain, and seeing that we are preoccupied with fighting [the Christians], they have strengthened the unbelievers with provisions.[63]

This same *hatt* is cited by Ahmad Çelebi, who, however, gives the date of its arrival as 28 Rabiʿ I (generally speaking, Ahmad Çelebi's dating throughout this section seems to run some five to ten days ahead of Hallaq's).

> Many times have we sent [decrecs] to you, warning you against sending grain to the Christian unbelievers. You have not obeyed but have persistcd in disobedience[64] and perpetrated what amounts to rebellion. This [matter] has come to our attention, and we have confirmed it. Thc reason for it is thc greed of the customs agents and the customs farmers[65] for great quantities of money [dirhams], and your deceitfulness. Beware of pursuing anything that amounts to disobedience and strengthening the polytheist unbelievers against the monotheist soldiers.[66]

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[62] *Harbi* literally connotes belonging to *Dar al-Harb*, i.e., Christian Europe.

[63] *Bundan akdem sizlere nice kere hatt-i şerifim sadr olmuşdur ki harbi keferesine zahire kismindan bir şey virilmeye. Tekrar istimaʿimiz olmuşdur ki gümrükciler, dünya cihhetine tamaʿ idüp, muharebesine ihtimam eyledigimiz içün kefereye zahire ile takviyet eylemişdir* (f. 312). This order resembles *Mühimme-i Misir*, I, 379.

[64] The printed text reads *makhafa* (fear). My guess is that this is a misrendering of *mukhalafa* (disobedience).

[65] *mustalzimin*, probably a colloquialization of *multazimin*, "tax farmers" - i.e., those who received the customs as tax farms.

[66] *Inna arsalna lakum miraran nuhadhirukum ʿan irsal ghilal ila ʾl-kafara al-nasara, fa-lam tamtathilu, fa-istamarraytum [sic] ʿala ʾl-mukhalafa, wa-rtakabtum ma yujibu al-ʿisyan. Wa qad balaghana dhalika, wa tahaqqaqnahu, wa sabab dhalika tamaʿ al-makkasin wa mustalzimin al-maks li-kathrat al-darahim wa muwalasatukum. Fa-antum, tahadharu min an tataʿataw shayʾan yujibu al-mukhalafa wa taqwiyat al-kafara al-mushrikin ʿala ʿaskar al-muwahhidin...*(267).

Ahmad Çelebi may be quoting the concluding part of the decree, containing the actual order, as opposed to the introductory section, which lays out the problem. This would account for the more admonitory tone of the Arabic text. Clearly, however, the Arabic decree is a translation of some version or part of the Ottoman *hatt*. Ahmad Çelebi may have taken the text directly from Hallaq's Arabic history or, alternatively, from some administrator's translation. However he acquired this *hatt*, the result is the same: translated or not, Ottoman documents become part of the substance of local histories, blurring the distinction between archival and narrative sources.

As they are used in Hallaq and Ahmad Çelebi, however, these imperial orders do not succeed in transcending the boundary between archival and narrative, however much they implicitly call it into question, for they remain in the nature of events, included within the narrative but not themselves narrating. A type of imperial order exists, however, that does narrate in a manner extraordinarily similar to that of a chronicle (this style is distinct from the sort of summarizing with which a typical order opens). It appears rarely in the pages of the *Mühimme-i Misir* but becomes somewhat more frequent toward the middle of the eighteenth century. A representative example is *Mühimme-i Misir* IV, 116 (mid-Shaʿban 1140/1728), which, in the course of an order for thc punishment of all adherents of the rcncgadc Qasimi amir Çerkes Mehmcd, describes how the *daftardar* ʿAli Bey al-Hindi staged an attack on himself.

> The aforesaid ʿAli Bey sought to sow disorder and division among the soldiery by way of achieving the aim of the corrupt. In the middle of the month of Jumada al-Akhir, as he was going to the diwan in his customary fashion, when he was between the ʿAzaban gates, a group of men, with his own knowledge and consent, fired on him with rifles. Afterward, they scattered, and he galloped through the city and bazaar to his house. He gathered his followers and assistants, and sent a man for ʿAbd al-Rahman Bey [Dalja, a follower of Ismail Bey b. ʿIwaz], who was in hiding, ordering him to come quickly and to inform the governor.[67]

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[67] *... Ve mezbur ʿAli Bey, ocaklar halki beyninde ihtilal ve tefrike ilkasini, garaz ül-fasidin icra içün, mah-i Cumade ül-Ahirin evasitinda, vech-i muʿtad üzere divana giderken, ʿAzeban kapilari beyninde, kendü taʿlim ve ittifakina binaʾen adamlar üzerine birkaç tüfenk atup, baʿdehu perakende ve kendüsi şehir ve pazara at koşarak hanesine gelüp, atbaʿ ve havadarlarin başina cemʿ ve gaybet iden ʿAbdurrahman Beyʾe adam irsal, ve sürʿat ile gelmesine talib oldugu haber alinup, vezir-i*

The *mühimme* gives its source as a *mahdar*, or official report sent to the court by the parties to whom the *mühimme* is addressed: in this case, the Egyptian amirs, the officers of the seven corps of soldiery, and the leading *'ulama'*. The text of the *mühimme* is a summary of the *mahdar*'s contents.[68] In this case, then, Egypt's grandees are writing their own history, and the court is narrating it back to them.

The accounts of these narrative *mühimmes* do not necessarily agree with those of the indigenous chronicles. Ahmad Çelebi (520) takes the "staged" attack at face value and makes much of 'Ali Bey's heroism in surviving it. His tale has the aura of *manaqib* about it. The 'Azaban *katkhuda* Ahmad al-Damurdashi (333-338) takes a less overtly partisan tack, describing how the Faqari leader Zulfikar Bey betrayed 'Ali Bey and authorized the then 'Azaban *katkhuda* Yusuf al-Birkawi to attack him.[69] In any case, the sort of succinct summary to be found in a *mühimme* is of more use to the chronicles of the imperial court historians, or *vaka'nüvises*, than it can have been to local chroniclers, whose works were colored by *manaqib* and other forms of local lore, on the one hand, and by inside personal observation, on the other.[70] Nonetheless, these few "narrative" *mühimmes* demonstrate once more how the boundary between document and chronicle could occasionally be blurred. Beyond this, they demonstrate the crystallization of one form of narrative history through the dialogue between central and provincial administrations.

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müşarilayhi tarafına i'lam... (*ll*, 13-16). Other "chronicle-esque" examples from the *Mühimme-i Misir* are IV, 247 and VI, 126, 243.

[68] I, 3: "The sealed *mahdar* which you sent to my high threshold full of magnificence [as a] sign of faithfulness has arrived; [this is] a summary of its contents" ("'Atabet-i 'ali-i pur-şahaneme irsal eyledügünüz mühürlü mahzar-i sadakat eseriniz vurud idüp, hulasat-i mazmunina..."). The order itself, beginning on *l*, 16, is addressed to the *beys* and *aghas* only. These grandees, minus the *'ulama'*, are the usual addressees of such an order. On the use of the *mahdar*, see Inalcik, "Şikayet Hakki: 'Arz-i hal ve 'arz-i mahzarlar," *Osmanli Arastirmalari* VII-VIII (1988), 33-54.

[69] André Raymond, in his article "Une 'revolution' au Caire sous les Mamelouks: La crise de 1123/1711," *Annales Islamogiques* VI (1966), 95-120, regards both these chronicles as having a pro-Qasimi slant. In contrast, the Porte, in its continuing anti-Çerkes Mehmed campaign, had sided with the Faqaris - specifically the household of Zulfikar Bey.

[70] Thus, it comes as no surprise that von Hammer's account, by way of Çelebizade, of Çerkes Mehmed Bey's flight from Tripoli to Trieste to Vienna and back again concurs with the *mühimmes* covering these matters. Al-Damurdashi, in contrast, presents a fantastic account of a trip to Russia and Malta. See von Hammer, VII, 344; *Mühimme-i Misir*, IV, 61, 72, 169; al-Damurdashi, 350-357.

CONCLUSION

A broad consideration of Ottoman Egyptian history-writing in the early eighteenth century reveals a number of dialogues at work within the composition of chronicles and within the generation of history in general terms:

1) between the *hijri* calendar and the "pasha" rubric,
2) between official and popular sources of information,
3) between archival and narrative sources of information,
4) between Arabic and Turkish sources of information.

These multifarious dialogues were not, of course, mutually exclusive but intertwined to yield a complex symbiosis between Arabic and Turkish texts and their sources. Such a symbiosis is most easily comprehended in terms of the exchange between Istanbul and Cairo that was the unique feature of Ottoman rule in Egypt. But the cultural and historiographical exchange was more complex than a two-way traffic along a central-provincial axis. Somehow, through a process we do not yet fully understand but which seems to include the mediation of such apparent "bi-culturals" as Hallaq, a certain identification with the Ottoman historical context came to fruition in Egyptian history-writing of the middle Ottoman era. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, we find a spate of chronicles that are content to treat the period of Ottoman rule as their only historical period and to take the representatives of the sultan as their organizational rubric, even while bowing to the dictates of *hijri* chronology. In this regard, a desideratum for Ottoman Egyptian historiography and for Ottoman historiography in general would be comparisons of Egyptian chronicles with chronicles produced in other Ottoman provinces and in Istanbul itself.[71]

Finally, we may at long last be able to lay to rest al-Jabarti's specter by entombing it with its proper ancestors. Al-Jabarti's chronicle is not an anomalous throwback to the glory days of Mamluk historiography but, on the contrary, is entirely consistent with the Ottoman Egyptian historical school exemplified by *Akhbar al-Nuwwab* and the chronicles of Hallaq and Ahmad Çelebi. While al-Jabarti breaks out of the classic "pasha" chronicle mold by abandoning the "new pasha" rubric[72] and by separating *akhbar/waqa'i'* from *tarajim*, his presentation of *waqa'i'* and *tarajim* retains the characteristics of earlier eighteenth century chronicles, although he does

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[71] An intriguing question is how the spate of early eighteenth century Egyptian chronicles, as well as the literary and architectural achievements of the early Qazdagli amirs, relates to the Lale Devri.

[72] His organization thus comes to be overtly dominated by hijri years. In this organizational choice, he may be influenced, on the one hand, by al-Muradi, whose focus is the twelfth century A.H., or, on the other, by al-Damurdashi, whose *terminus a quo* is 1099 A.H. (the deposition of Mehmed IV).

embellish his *tarajim* by borrowing from the Mamluk biographical tradition. There is no denying that al-Jabarti was an innovator. Yet his innovations occurred within a living and evolving historical tradition. While harking back to the Mamluks, he remained an Ottoman historian.

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE DAMURDASHI GROUP OF MANUSCRIPTS

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As part of his research on the career of the seventeenth century Ottoman officer Küçük Muhammad, P.M. Holt undertook a comparative study of the manuscript sources pertaining to this grandee. Included among the works Holt surveyed were three manuscripts which he called "the Damurdashi group." These included

1. Mustafa ibn Ibrahim al-Maddah al-Qinali, *Majmuʿ Latif yashtamil ʿala Waqaʾiʿ Misr al-Qahira* (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS Hist. Osm. 38), which ends in 1739.
2. Anonymous, *Kitab (Majmuʿ) al-Durra al-Munsana fi Waqaʾiʿ al-Kinana* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bruce 43), which ends in 1754-55).
3. Ahmad al-Damurdashi Katkhuda ʿAzaban, *al-Durra al-Musana fi Akhbar al-Kinana* (London, British Museum, MS Or. 1073-74), which ends in 1756.

Holt concluded that they "differ in fullness of treatment and in the order of presentation."[1] In a later article Holt briefly surveyed this same group, concluding that "Although the chronicles of this group exhibit a marked family resemblance, they also show considerable variations of phraseology, suggesting that they are different narrators' versions of a common theme, rather than recensions of a written original. Like the work of Ibn Zunbul, these chronicles contain many reported speeches, conveying an impression of inside knowledge, but again this is, probably, a literary device. There is probably a saga element in these chronicles, and the data they appear to provide should be used with caution."[2]

In the period since Holt published his remarks on the Damurdashi chronicles two more manuscripts of this group have become known, namely

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[1]P.M. Holt, "The Career of Küçük Muhammad (1676-94)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24 (1963), 269-287.

[2]P.M. Holt, "Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," in P.M. Holt (ed.), *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, London, Oxford University Press, 1968, 9.

1. Mustafa ibn Ibrahim, *tabi' al-marhum* Hasan Agha 'Azaban Damurdash, *Ta'rikh Waqa'i' Misr al-Qahira* (Cairo, Dar al-Kutub, MS Ta'rikh 4048), which goes down to 1740.

2. Anonymous, *al-Durra al-Munsana fi Waqa'i' al-Kinana* Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Arab 399).

In preparing our annotated English translation of Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban al-Damurdashi's *al-Durra al-Musana fi Akhbar al-Kinana* Daniel Crecelius and I briefly examined similarities among these chronicles by selecting for comparison five incidents in which Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban claimed personally to have participated or occasions upon which he recited a verse of poetry. We concluded that there was a common ancestry or relationship among these manuscripts, but that they were divided into two distinct groups, or families.[3] The British Museum and Bodleian manuscripts appear to be related, while the Vienna and Cairo manuscripts form a second family. The Munich manuscript is virtually a copy of the British Museum manuscript belonging to Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban al-Damurdashi.

In this paper I will offer some new thoughts on the linkage among this group of five Damurdashi chronicles. In searching for the interrelationships among this group I compared each manuscript with Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban's *al-Durra al-Musana fi Akhbar al-Kinana.*

MUSTAFA IBN IBRAHIM, *TABI' AL-MARHUM* HASAN AGHA 'AZABAN DAMURDASH, CAIRO, DAR AL-KUTUB

The introduction of this manuscript is similar to *al-Durra al-Musana.* Mustafa ibn Ibrahim uses the same religious phraseology and the rhymed prose found in the first five lines of Ahmad Katkhuda's work. Mustafa ibn Ibrahim covers the split among the mamluks into Faqari and Qasimi in the same manner as Ahmad Katkhuda. In recounting the story of the attempt on the life of Küçük Muhammad, Mustafa ibn Ibrahim's manuscript differs only slightly in detail with the chronicle of Ahmad Katkhuda.

The anecdote of Küçük Muhammad, the jeweler and the merchant 'Ali al-Fayyumi appears to be a well-known moral story and is common not only to the Damurdashi group of chronicles, but to other manuscripts of the period as well.

The incident of the *sanjaq*'s attack on the Hawwara bedouins of Upper Egypt is similar in broad outline, but the two chronicles differ in some of their details. Mustafa ibn Ibrahim, for instance, offers a slightly different

[3]See our introduction to the annotated translation forthcoming from E.J. Brill, Leiden, Holland.

statement by Ibn al-Husari in his discussion with the governor's *katkhuda* when he went to mediate between the Hawwara and the governor after their defeat by 'Abd al-Rahman Bey (Mustafa ibn Ibrahim, 29). In Ahmad Katkhuda's account Ibn Husari tries to justify his false statement to the governor by saying, "He who transmits an infidelity is not an infidel." (Ahmad Katkhuda, 77). Mustafa ibn Ibrahim, however, mentions that Ibn al-Husari said, "My sultan, I did not attend (the fighting), but they [the Hawwara] informed me of what I have related to you."

Mustafa ibn Ibrahim also uses numerous expressions not found in Ahmad Katkhuda's work and sometimes offers information not included by Ahmad Katkhuda. Mustafa ibn Ibrahim, for instance, uses the expression *hal wa qal* (action and words) in describing the agreement between Qansawh Bey, Murjan Quz and Ibrahim al-Sa'idi with 'Abd al-Rahman Bey (Mustafa, 36). Mustafa ibn Ibrahim also adds (Mustafa, 31) that Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab was a Bosnian (*min al-Bashanqa*).

Both authors used similar expressions such as *wa idha bi* (suddenly) and *lahu ma'na kalam* (he will be mentioned in the future) to link the parts of their histories, but Mustafa ibn Ibrahim also used an expression, *thumma anna* (besides) which Ahmad Katkhuda tended to avoid.

There are other small variations in the two manuscripts. For instance, Mustafa ibn Ibrahim writes the name of the important Upper Egyptian provincial capital as Jirja, while Ahmad Katkhuda writes it consistently as Dirja. Mustafa ibn Ibrahim also refers to the village of Qiman al-'Arus as Qiman al-'Arab (as does al-Qinali), which I believe is a mistake made by the scribes. Mustafa ibn Ibrahim also describes Ayyub Bey as "that stubborn bald head," an expression Ahmad Katkhuda did not use. There are many proverbs found in Mustafa ibn Ibrahim's work that are absent from Ahmad Katkhuda's chronicle, such as "Live as a lion for one day and not as a dog for one thousand days." (Mustafa, 107).

Mustafa ibn Ibrahim claims to have personally witnessed two events at which Ahmad Katkhuda also says he was present. The first is the incident of the horse which was offered as a present by Ibrahim Agha to Zayn al-Faqar Bey. In this episode Mustafa ibn Ibrahim says, "While the author of these incidents was standing by Zayn al-Faqar Bey's house, a strong horse was presented to the *sanjaq*." (Mustafa, 322). On page 323 Mustafa continues, "While I was standing by (Zayn al-Faqar's) door I saw Ibrahim Agha when the Wali 'Uthman greeted him." Ahmad Katkhuda (page 376) also claims to have witnessed this particular incident.

The other incident involved Çerkes Muhammad Bey al-Kabir and his *sarraj* "al-Sayfi," who were searching for Isma'il Bey 'Awad, who was then

in hiding. Çerkes and his *sarraj* used the occasion of the search to falsely accuse wealthy merchants of hiding Isma'il Bey and then extorting money from them. Mustafa ibn Ibrahim claims that he was spending the night in the residence of a merchant named al-Natruni when Çerkes and his *sarraj* called at his house. Ahmad Katkhuda mentions the rounds which Çerkes Muhammad Bey al-Kabir and al-Sayfi made in looking for Isma'il Bey (pages 251-252), but did not claim witnessing this incident.

Mustafa ibn Ibrahim's chronicle utilizes some terms not found in Ahmad Katkhuda's chronicle. Among these terms are *wira bayraq* (surrender flag), *qassam* (judicial official), *al-Qisma* (a special court entrusted with the financial affairs of the military), *wakil al-kharj* (an official entrusted with the government expenditures), and *ermajan* (presents coming from abroad).

The Damurdashi manuscripts seem to divide into two schools on the issue of where Çerkes Muhammad Bey al-Kabir sought refuge after fleeing Egypt. Some of the manuscripts, such as the chronicle of Ahmad Katkhuda, (page 349) mention Muscovy as the place where he sought asylum and invoked the intervention of the Russian Czar with the Ottoman Sultan. The others contend that Çerkes Muhammad sought refuge with the King of Austria. On page 295 Mustafa ibn Ibrahim reports Muscovy as the place of asylum, but then on page 326 mentions Austria.

Apart from some of the variations of wording such as those mentioned above, most of the incidents mentioned in Mustafa ibn Ibrahim's chronicle are found in Ahmad Katkhuda's history with only slight variations in phraseology.

ANONYMOUS, *AL-DURRA AL-MUNSANA*, OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY

The introduction to this manuscript is similar to the chronicles of Mustafa ibn Ibrahim and Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban al-Damurdashi, with only some variations in phraseology. In writing about the expedition to Saqiz (Chios) under the leadership of Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab and Ahmad Bey Manufiya, the anonymous author of this manuscript mentions correctly on page 6 the name of the Ottoman naval commander as Mezzo Morta, whereas Ahmad Katkhuda (page 17) incorrectly writes it more than once as Mara Murta. Ahmad Katkhuda mentions an incident between Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab and the chief of the Cairene beggars (page 17), showing the

generosity of Abu Shanab towards the beggars and their love of this mamluk leader. But the anonymous author of this manuscript notes that it was Ahmad Bey Manufiya who was the friend of the beggars (page 6), though he does say that the gray (*azraq*) horse offered by the beggars after the victorious return of the expeditionary forces was offered to Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab.

Other slight variations occur between the two manuscripts. Ahmad Katkhuda (page 165) notes that it was "Baba Yusuf" who fired the cannon during one of the incidents of 1711, while the author of *al-Durra al-Munsana* (page 58) names this person as "Kusa Yusuf." Both Ahmad Katkhuda (page 167) and the author of *al-Durra al-Munsana* (pages 60, 62) claim to have been present during the fighting which took place in Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab's garden.

One important piece of information provided in *al-Durra al-Munsana* and not found in Ahmad Katkhuda's chronicle is the annual date on which the *jawishiya* received their new appointments, which were announced after the annual cleaning of the Nilometer. Ahmad Katkhuda does not provide this information.

The Bodleian manuscript (page 265) is the only one to relate an incident at Bab al-Sha'riya in which the wife of 'Umar Shurbaji 'Azaban accompanied the women of her lane to a picnic at Qantarat al-Dikka on the day of Shamm al-Nasim. There a lover of one of the women in the group met her, whereupon the other women saw him and started screaming. Disorder and panic resulted, with the women losing their jewelry and money to the riffraff who stole them during the confusion. None of the other Damurdashi manuscripts contain this incident, but al-Jabarti relates a story somewhat similar in which the women were robbed by the soldiers forming the watch at the bridge. (Jabarti, *'Aja'ib al-Athar fi'l-Tarajim wa'l-Akhbar*, Vol. I, 57).

The poem recited on the occasion of the death of Isma'il Bey Awad by the author of the Bodleian manuscript (page 94) is repeated word for word by Ahmad Katkhuda (page 265). The author of the Bodleian manuscript also claims to have been an eyewitness to the incident in which the horse purchased by Lahluba, the police chief, was stolen by the groom of the original owner of the horse, one 'Abdallah Bey, the husband of Hanim, the daughter of Iwaz Bey the Qasimi (page 102). This incident is repeated by Ahmad Katkhuda.

The Bodleian manuscript (page 108) asserts that Muscovy was the place of asylum for Çerkes Muhammad Bey al-Kabir, but Ottoman evidence notes that it was to Trieste that Çerkes Muhammad Bey fled. (See the

contribution of Jane Hathaway.) This author also mentioned an attack of the plague which struck Egypt in 1148/1735. Ahmad Katkhuda does not write about this plague in his chronicle.

One of the important variations between Ahmad Katkhuda's work and the Bodleian manuscript is the story of Salih Kashif, the husband of Hanim, the daughter of Iwaz Bey the Qasimi. Ahmad Katkhuda says that after Salih Kashif and his accomplices murdered Muhammad Bey Qatamish in the house of Muhammad Bey Isma'il, the *daftardar*, Salih Kashif escaped from the city and rode to al-Hilla in Sharqiya province (pages 433-434). But he did not pursue this story to its end. The Bodleian manuscript follows Salih Kashif's flight from Sharqiya into Ghazza and his interview with the governor of Syria, who offered him a residence. But Salih Kashif refused this offer and continued to Istanbul where he was interviewed by the chief eunuch (*dar sa'adat aghasi*) who accused him of murdering Muhammad Bey Qatamish, who happened to be the son of his master. The story concludes with the beheading of Salih Bey by order of an imperial rescript from Sultan Mahmud Khan (page 136).

The Bodleian manuscript also relates another story not reported by Ahmad Katkhuda. In 1167/1754 the citizens of al-Warraq, a Nile-side town opposite Bulaq, attacked the *sabtiat* Bulaq district and reduced it to ruins because it was being guarded by the Haba'iba bedouins of Dijwa (page 162).

The Bodleian manuscript also informs us that the number of *sanjaqs* reached 25 in 1168/1754. The story of Ya'qub, the *bashnafar* in Ibrahim Katkhuda al-Qazdughli's faction and his dispute with a police chief who was newly appointed by Ridwan Katkhuda al-Julfi of the 'Azaban regiment is mentioned only in the Bodleian manuscript (page 162) and discloses the early differences between the two famous allies Ibrahim Katkhuda al-Qazdughli and Ridwan Katkhuda al-Julfi.

MUSTAFA IBN IBRAHIM AL-MADDAH AL-QINALI, *MAJMU' LATIF*, VIENNA, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

The preface of al-Qinali's chronicle is similar to the works of both Ahmad Katkhuda and the anonymous author of the Bodleian manuscript. Qinali uses the terms *wa idha bi* (suddenly), *wa narja' ila* (we return to), *sawfa ya'ti dhikruhu* (will be mentioned later), *wa nidkhul* (we enter), *wa narja' li ma nahnu fi talabihi* (we return to the point) as linking words to the various parts of his story, while Ahmad Katkhuda uses only the terms *wa idha bi* and *wa narja' ila*.

Qinali has embellished his chronicle with the names of numerous ordinary people who are not mentioned in any of the other Damurdashi manuscripts. Among these are such individuals or administrative positions as Shaykh Ahmad al-Qanunji of the diwan, who gave details to al-Qinali about the famous celebration the governor made on the occasion of the circumcission of his sons (page 12), Zayid al-Muhaysani and Mansur al-Ashtar, chiefs of the Maghariba, Du'afa' and Nujama' bedouins (page 21), Shaykh Yusuf al-Sharqawi (page 66), Hajj Mas'ud al-Maghrabi (page 74), 'Abdallah Efendi, the scribe for Ibn Iwaz (page 88), Shaykh Yusuf al-Mihrdar al-Qanunji (page 129), and Sulayman al-Yaghlikji (page 153). He also mentions the names of bedouin tribes not included in the other Damurdashi chronicles, such as the al-Bahja, Bani 'Awn, al-Salalma, and Dardir tribes (page 21).

Al-Qinali also reveals the technical names of some hitherto unnoticed bureaucratic positions, such as *mamalik al-halaqa* (mamluks of the ring), which goes back to the mamluk sultanate of the period prior to the Ottoman conquest (page 58), *al-mukallimati* (spokesman) of the *ojaq* (page 60), and *shaykh al-nizamiya* (chief of the regulars) (page 131). These are terms not found in the other Damurdashi chronicles.

The village of Qiman al-'Arus, which is noted in the other Damurdashi chronicles, is written as Qiman al-'Arab by al-Qinali (page 15, *passim*). Qinali was very precise as to dates and numbers. In more than one incident he gives the exact date, including day and month. In many cases he even writes figures in words and in numbers (pages 18, 150). Ahmad Katkhuda, for instance, is much less precise as to the exact dates of the incidents he describes.

Qinali also relates many events and stories not found in the other Damurdashi manuscripts. Among these are the following.

The death of Isma'il Pasha, the governor of Egypt from 1695-97, who was forced to take refuge in Persia, is attributed to poison administered on orders from the Persian shah (page 20). Other chronicles report the escape of Isma'il Pasha from Egypt and his seeking refuge in Persia, but do not include this story that his death came by the order of the shah.

There were priests and a Coptic physician in the village of Ikhmim in Upper Egypt at the time of the civil war in Cairo in 1123/1711, for al-Qinali mentions the name of a certain physician Gabriel al-Hakim (page 67).

Qinali identifies the birth place of Mustafa Pasha, the governor of Egypt from 1736-38, as Egypt (page 194).

The *sanjaq* 'Ali Bey used a telescope when the boat carrying the corpse of Çerkes Muhammad Bey al-Kabir approached him (page 174). Other

chronicles report this incident with slight variations, but none mention the use of a telescope.

The Easter Church in Cairo was supported by *awqaf* (religious endowments) which were supervised by the Coptic patriarch (page 201).

Qinali was the only author to refer to the Faqariya and Qasimiya factions by humorous Egyptian names such as *Mulukhiyali* and *Bamyali* (Jew's marrow and okra) (page 95).

Like the other Damurdashi authors, al-Qinali claimed to have been an eyewitness to some of the events he records. Qinali claims to have been present when Isma'il Bey Iwaz was murdered in the citadel diwan by Zayn al-Faqar in 1136/1723. He claims (page 127) to be the author of the same piece of poetry which Ahmad Katkhuda claims to have composed (page 265) on this occasion. Qinali also claims to have been present when the gray (*azraq*) horse was delivered to Zayn al-Faqar Bey as a present from Ibrahim Agha (page 163). Ahmad Katkhuda also claims to have personally witnessed this incident (page 375).

Qinali is also unique in attempting to describe the personalities of his history. He describes Isma'il Bey Iwaz as unmarried, handsome, a cube of sugar, and young in age, but solemn (page 87). He described al-Sayfi, the chief *sarraj* of Çerkes Muhammad Bey al-Kabir, as both criminal and ignorant (page 118). Zayn al-Faqar Bey was imposing, solemn and handsome (page 132). Muhammad Bey al-Jazzar was a handsome young man and a brave cavalier (page 160). Ibrahim Agha was an impressive grey-haired man (page 164). He describes Sulayman Bey Abu Shawarib as a pious, solemn man, and having a long mustache which he tied behind his neck (page 169).

CONCLUSION

Despite obvious similarities among the group of Damurdashi manuscripts, despite their unity of style, their reportage of the same incidents, the stylistic manner in which they linked the various parts of their chronicles, the colloquial Arabic mixed with Turkish and Persian, despite the few incidents which the authors all claimed to have personally witnessed or their mutual claims to have composed bits of poetry on special occasions, one can say that each of the manuscripts in this group has its own characteristics and peculiarities. As noted above, several of the manuscripts relate incidents or include bits of information that are not to be found in the other versions. All include events the author claims to have personally witnessed (though this may only be a literary device in some instances), all

relate the contents of noble rescripts sent from Istanbul or of reports sent by the mamluks to the government in Istanbul, and all contain the type of anecdotes that appear to be coffee house entertainments to enhance the reputation of a few of the heroic characters of the chronicle. Because of the rich detail of his account, the unique information he includes, the precision of his dates, and the biographical information he provides, the chronicle by al-Qinali must be given special prominence among this group. Unfortunately, Qinali's work ends in 1739 and must therefore give precedence of place to the manuscript of Ahmad Katkhuda, which brings the history of this period down to 1756. Nevertheless, the Qinali manuscript deserves to be edited and published.

It is difficult to say much about the backgrounds of the different authors, if indeed these were individual people. Without any substantiating evidence, the author of *al-Durra al-Musana* is cited as Ahmad, *katkhuda 'Azaban*, al-Damurdashi. We must assume, therefore, that Ahmad was at one time a *katkhuda* in the 'Azaban regiment. Beyond that, we know virtually nothing about him. Both Mustafa ibn Hajj Ibrahim and Mustafa al-Qinali described themselves as retainers of the deceased Hasan Agha 'Azaban Damurdash. Attention should be drawn to the similarity of the names of the authors of the Vienna and Cairo manuscripts. One is Mustafa ibn Hajj Ibrahim, *tabi' al-marhum* Hasan Agha 'Azaban Damurdash; the other is Hajj Mustafa ibn al-Hajj Ibrahim al-Maddah al-Qinali, *tabi' al-marhum* Hasan Agha 'Azaban Damurdash.[4]

None of the authors of these chronicles acknowledged consulting any earlier sources, but it is certain that they did, indeed, transmit information from seventeenth century works, for incidents reported from the period around 1688-1690 would have occurred prior to the age of majority of several of these authors. We may suggest that Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Mu'ti al-Ishaqi's *Kitab Akhbar al-Uwal fi man tasarrafa fi Misr min Arbab al-Duwal* (1623), Muhammad al-Burrullusi al-Sa'di's *Bulugh al-'Arab bi Raf' al-Tulab* ( ), Mar'i ibn Yusuf al-Hanbali al-Maqdisi's *Nuzhat al-Nazirin fi Ta'rikh man waliya Misr min al-Khulafa' wa 'l-Salatin* (1626), Ahmad ibn Sa'd al-Din al-Ghamri's *Dhakirat al-I'lam: Ta'rikh Umara' Misr fi 'l-Islam* (1630), Ibn Abi al-Surur al-Bakri's *al-Rawda al-Zahiya fi Wulat Misr wa 'l-Qahira* (1652), and Ibrahim ibn Abi Bakr al-Sawalihi's *Tarajim al-Sawa'iq*

[4]Because all the authors of this Damurdash group of manuscripts claim to have been members of the 'Azab *ojaq*, it was suggested by several members of the conference that this group ought to be known as the 'Azab chronicles, for they report favorably the activities of this *ojaq* in its struggle with the dominant Janissary regiment.

fi Waqi'at al-Sanajiq (1658) are sources from which the Damurdashi authors might have drawn some of their material for the earlier period.

AHMAD SHALABI IBN ʿABD AL-GHANI AND AHMAD KATKHUDA ʿAZABAN AL-DAMURDASHI: TWO SOURCES FOR AL-JABARTI'S *ʿAJAʾIB AL-ATHAR FI ʾL-TARAJIM WA ʾL-AKHBAR*

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The extraordinary history of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Hasan al-Jabarti, entitled *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar fi ʾl-Tarajim wa ʾl-Akhbar*, is perhaps the best known, most highly regarded, and most widely used Arabic manuscript source of the last four centuries. In a lengthy article which he published in 1960 as part of his study of the mamluk system in Ottoman Egypt, David Ayalon went so far as to declare that "Of the local historians of Ottoman Egypt, ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti stands out as a giant among dwarfs." He added that "In my opinion, al-Jabarti should be considered one of the greatest historians of the Muslim world of all times, and by far the greatest historian of the Arab world in modern times."[1]

Ayalon notes that al-Jabarti's chronicle covers three periods, the mamluk-Ottoman period, the brief period of the French occupation, and the reign of Muhammad ʿAli. For the reconstruction of mamluk history during the Ottoman period, Ayalon remarks that "Yet I do not think that any single Mamluk source is so rich, so concise, and so self-contained as al-Jabarti's chronicle in its four volumes of 1,372 pages."[2] These are words of high praise for Egypt's acknowledged leading historian of the Ottoman period, but we have come to a clearer understanding of al-Jabarti's strengths and weaknesses in the years since Ayalon wrote these praiseworthy words. This paper will compare al-Jabarti's history with two earlier manuscript sources for the period 1688-1756 and will demonstrate through selected examples the unacknowledged borrowings that al-Jabarti made from these sources.

Since al-Jabarti was not born until 1753, it is unlikely that he was aware of, or recorded, any information for his chronicle before the 1770s. By his own account, he only wrote down events that happened after 1190 A.H. (1776-77).[3] It is curious, therefore, that the information he offers on the

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[1]David Ayalon, "The Historian al-Jabarti and his Background," *BSOAS*, XXIII, 1960, 218.

[2]*Ibid.*, 233.

[3]ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Hasan al-Jabarti, *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar fi ʾl-Tarajim wa ʾl-Akhbar*, Bulaq, 1898, Vol. I, 6. See also Ayalon, *op. cit.*, 223.

period from 1688-1176 has been accepted by so many scholars as primary material and the product of his own research.

The question of al-Jabarti's sources has seldom been raised. It received a mere mention in Ayalon's famous article and has not troubled many subsequent historians.[4] Ayalon was apparently so enamored of al-Jabarti's work that he failed to appreciate the question of Jabarti's borrowings. In another study devoted to the extraordinary value of al-Jabarti's history Ayalon mentioned the chronicle of Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi. He admitted that "This chronicle, in spite of its poor style and bad structure, is a mine of accurate information." Incredibly, instead of pointing out the Damurdashi manuscript as a prime source for al-Jabarti's own reconstruction of the twelfth century *hijri* Ayalon remarks only that the Damurdashi manuscript corroborates the accuracy of al-Jabarti's chronicle. He writes, "Al-Jabarti's narrative is entirely upheld in its essence by that of al-Dimurdashi. The last-named only adds numerous details and facts, some of which are extremely important, to the concise story of al-Jabarti."[5]

Jabarti himself was rather vague on the subject of his sources. Not only did he suggest that he had few sources from which to copy, but he avowed that he actively pursued his own methodologies to overcome the general lack of manuscript sources for the period before he began collecting his own notes. He remarked,

> When I decided to gather together my notes, I desired to link them to preceding events. I searched and investigated, but could find nothing except a few booklets written by some common soldiers. These were poorly expressed and confused in composition and order. They were marred with defects in places in the narration of events. However, I succeeded in obtaining one such history written on the whole in a simple and natural style by a person named Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani. It begins with the capture of Egypt by the Ottomans, and ends, like the others which I have mentioned, in 1150 (1737). Then a certain friend borrowed the book and failed to return it; so it is as good as lost. From that date to the present, no one has recorded or written anything of use in the field. I have therefore had recourse to transmitting the words of elderly people, to documents from the registers of clerks and custodians, and to inscriptions on tombstones from the beginning of the century up to the year 1170 (1756). What follows, up to the year 1190 (1776), are events which we ourselves witnessed but partly forgot and partly remembered. From the latter date to the present there are events which we have considered, evaluated and written down, until we achieved our goal, such as it was -- namely, to narrate this in an orderly arrangement from our time to that period.[6]

On the basis of this statement, it appears that al-Jabarti was deliberately obscuring his own sources by claiming that he had at his disposal only a few booklets compiled by soldiers of humble origin that were written in a very bad style. Although he includes among this group the history composed by Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani,[7] Jabarti is also obviously referring to the group of manuscripts known as the Damurdashi group. (See below). Several of these manuscripts do end in 1150 (1737) as Jabarti contends, but others in the group, which al-Jabarti surely used, go down to 1169 (1755-56). Nor are they "booklets," as Jabarti claims, but lengthy histories of the period(s) 1688-1737 or 1688-1756. The manuscript of Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi, for instance, is 589 pages in length, and covers the period 1688-1756. Jabarti's statement cited above certainly gives the impression that these "booklets" were of little use to him. Even the manuscript of Ahmad Shalabi, which he admits having read, was borrowed by a friend and not returned, suggesting that it, too, was not of much benefit to him. In fact, as this paper will show, Jabarti borrowed heavily from both Ahmad Shalabi and Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi.

Given the fact that al-Jabarti's survey of the period 1688-1776 is generally accepted as an accurate reconstruction of the events of that period and that al-Jabarti himself only witnessed the last two decades of the twelfth

[4] Ayalon, *op. cit.*, 220, went so far as to say that "It is very doubtful whether al-Jabarti even knew about al-Dimurdashi and Mustafa ibn Ibrahim, the historians who died in the period covered by his chronicle." Only one of the 36 studies presented in English and Arabic to the international conference held in Cairo on the subject of the historian al-Jabarti dealt with the sources he used in reconstructing his history of Ottoman Egypt. See ʿAbd al-Rahim ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAbd al-Rahim, "ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti wa Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani: Dirasa Muqarana," in *ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti*, Ahmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karim, ed., (Cairo, al-Hayʾa al-Misriya al-ʿAmma li al-Kitab, 1976), 183-208. In his "Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 3-12, P.M. Holt identified both Ahmad Shalabi and the Damurdashi chronicles as sources for al-Jabarti's history but did not develop this theme.

[5] David Ayalon, "The Historian al-Jabarti," Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, Oxford University Press, 1962), 396-397.

[6] ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 6.

[7] Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani's lengthy history has been edited and published by ʿAbd al-Rahim as *Awdah al-Isharat fi man tawalla Misr al-Qahira min al-Wuzaraʾ wa ʾl-Bashat* (Cairo, al-Khanji Bookshop, 1978).

hijri century, one might legitimately ask from what sources he drew his account of the earlier decades of that century. As this comparative study will demonstrate, he actually borrowed heavily from a range of manuscripts, but cleverly edited his material to fit his own purposes and to obscure his true sources.

For the period immediately following the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Selim in 1517 al-Jabarti incorrectly mentions the work of Ibn Iyas and acknowledges using the chronicle of al-Ishaqi, but this latter manuscript ends in 1033 (1623-24) and was not of much use to him.[8] Jabarti claims inaccurately that nothing was recorded of the middle period of the twelfth *hijri* century outside the work of Ahmad Shalabi, which was lost to him. Perhaps he truly did not have access to the manuscript "*Tarajim al-Sawa'iq fi Waqi'at al-Sanajiq*" by Ibrahim ibn Abi Bakr al-Sawalihi al-'Ufi al-Hanbali which covers the events of 1069-1071 (1659-60) or other manuscripts of the seventeenth century, but he apparently did use the work of Yusuf al-Mallawani and the manuscript of 'Ali al-Shadhili on the crisis of 1711.[9] But the question remains, from what sources did he draw his reconstruction of the period 1688-1756?

Despite his own remarks, al-Jabarti made extensive use of the manuscript of Ahmad Shalabi, a fact demonstrated by 'Abd al-Rahim in his contribution to an international conference on al-Jabarti held in Cairo in 1974.[10] It is now also obvious that al-Jabarti used those "booklets"

[8] 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 20, 27 on Ibn Iyas and Vol. I, 21 on al-Ishaqi. On Arabic manuscript sources for the history of Ottoman Egypt see P.M. Holt, "Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," in P.M. Holt ed., *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1968), 3-12. This list of manuscripts is updated in this present volume.

[9] See Ibrahim ibn Abi Bakr al-Sawalihi al-'Ufi al-Hanbali, *Tarajim al-Sawa'iq fi Waqi'at al-Sanajiq*, 'Abd al-Rahim, ed., (Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Cairo, 1986); 'Ali al-Shadhili, "Dhikr ma waqa'a bayn 'askar al-Mahrusa al-Qahira", 'Abd al-Qadir A. Tulaymat, ed., *al-Majalla al-Ta'rikhiya al-Misriya* 14 (1968), 321-403; Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-Surur al-Bakri al-Siddiqi, "Kashf al-Kurba fi Raf' al-Tulba," 'Abd al-Rahim, ed., *al-Majalla al-Ta'rikhiya al-Misriya*, 1976, 291-384; Muhammad al-Burullusi al-Sa'di, "Bulugh al-Arab bi Raf' al-Tulab," 'Abd al-Rahim, ed., *al-Majalla al-Ta'rikhiya al-Misriya*, 1977, 267-340. On Jabarti's borrowing from al-Mallawani, see the contribution to this conference by 'Abd al-Rahim. In his contribution to this conference André Raymond cites the evidence that al-Jabarti was familiar with the booklet of 'Ali al-Shadhili dealing with the crisis of 1711.

[10] 'Abd al-Rahim, "Dirasa Muqarana," 183-208, contains numerous examples of passages al-Jabarti borrowed from Ahmad Shalabi. Rayomond also notes in his

compiled by the humble soldiers whom he denigrated and that in fact he borrowed heavily without attribution from these unnamed sources. The history of Ahmad Shalabi ibn 'Abd al-Ghani was published by 'Abd al-Rahim 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Rahim some years ago,[11] but the group known collectively as the Damurdashi group, consisting of the following manuscripts, has only recently drawn attention.[12]

Mustafa ibn Ibrahim al-Maddah al-Qinali, *Majmu' Latif* (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS Hist. Osm. 38), which goes down to 1739.

Anonymous, *Kitab (Majmu') al-Durra al-Munsana fi Waqi' al-Kinana* (Cambridge, Bodleian Library, MS Bruce 43), which goes down to 1754-55.

Ibrahim ibn Mustafa ibn Ibrahim, the retainer of the deceased Hasan Agha 'Azaban Damurdashi, Waqa'i' *Misr al-Qahira* (Cairo, Dar al-Kutub, Ta'rikh 4048), which goes down to 1737.

Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban Damurdash, *al-Durra al-Musana fi Akhbar al-Kinana* (London, British Museum, OR 1073-74), which goes down to 1756.

Anonymous, *al-Durra al-Munsana fi Waqa'i' al-Kinana* (Munich, National Library, Cod. Arab. 399), which goes down to 1751-52.

We shall compare al-Jabarti's chronicle first with the chronicle of Ahmad Shalabi, then with the history of Ahmad al-Damurdashi. This analysis will also demonstrate obvious relationships between the manuscripts of Ahmad Shalabi and Ahmad al-Damurdashi. The fact that al-Jabarti does not duplicate any single source in its entirety suggests that he consulted a range of manuscripts for his account of those parts of the twelfth *hijri* century before he finally began to make his own original contribution to his chronicle of that century. The following represent only a sampling of a long list of passages that verify the debt al-Jabarti owes to his predecessors.

The chronicle of Ahmad Shalabi is much closer in both format and content to al-Jabarti's *'Aja'ib al-Athar* than either is to Ahmad al-

contribution to this conference that al-Jabarti reproduced 118 of the 136 paragraphs into which he divided Ahmad Shalabi's account of the crisis of 1711.

[11] See footnote 7.

[12] The manuscript of Ahmad Katkhuda 'Azaban al-Damurdashi has only recently been edited and published by 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Rahim 'Abd al-Rahman. See *Kitab al-Durra al-Musana* (Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1989). An annotated translation of Ahmad al-Damurdashi's *al-Durra al-Musana fi Akhbar al-Kinana* has been prepared by Daniel Crecelius and 'Abd al-Wahhab Bakr and will be published by E.J. Brill in 1991.

Damurdashi's *al-Durra al-Musana*. It appears from even a cursory examination of the works of Shalabi and al-Jabarti that the latter borrowed more heavily from Shalabi than from any other earlier source. Not only does al-Jabarti borrow the same general format of recording the major events during the reign of each Ottoman governor, but he usually records the same incidents contained in Shalabi in the same sequence and with similar dates. Only a little editing and some obvious recording mistakes separate the two chronicles in a large number of passages. Where the same information is provided by both Ahmad Shalabi and Ahmad al-Damurdashi, it appears that al-Jabarti usually preferred to take his account from Shalabi. Consider the following examples.

1. Jabarti (Vol. I, 27) relates the story of Yasif the Jew, who had gone to Istanbul to secure a tax farm in Cairo in 1108. Shalabi (199-200) provides the same information. Al-Damurdashi (102-103) remarks the same story, but has Yasif sending a request to Istanbul to secure this tax farm instead of going in person. Shalabi has the incident of Yasif's execution in Ramadan, but Jabarti more specifically places his execution on 13 Ramadan.

2. Jabarti's account (I, 33) gives the name of the "mamluk" who fought over a cut of meat at the butcher shop in Bab Zuwayla and provoked a fight with the *odabashi* of the gate. Here al-Jabarti again appears to be following Shalabi (586), who also says the dispute involved the *odabashi* and a "mamluk." Al-Damurdashi (129-131) does not give the date of this disagreement or the name of the central person in the incident, but refers to him as an *'abd* (black slave), not a mamluk.

3. Jabarti's (I, 34) account of the dispute between the Janissaries and the other six Ottoman military corps is not as full as al-Damurdashi's version (131-133), appearing to follow the account in Shalabi (199-200; 218-219). Moreover, at the end of this account Jabarti reports (I, 35) the death of Shaykh al-Nasharti, which is precisely the next item in Shalabi's chronicle (219). Jabarti reports the death on 11 Dhu 'l-Hijja, 1120, but Shalabi puts it on 28 Dhu 'l-Hijja.

The chronicle of Ahmad Shalabi includes more information of a general nature than does the work of Ahmad al-Damurdashi, whose work remains focused on the disputes among the Ottoman and mamluk military leaders. Shalabi, for instance, provides more information on plagues, droughts, unusual weather, common people, and the *'ulama'*. The following incidents in al-Jabarti are taken from Ahmad Shalabi, for they do not appear at all in Ahmad al-Damurdashi.

4. Shalabi (258) reports a strong wind in 1712 that knocked down many houses, an event mentioned by al-Jabarti (I, 50).

5. Shalabi (251-255) also relates the story of the Turkish preacher who preached in the Mu'ayyad mosque, who gathered a great following, who said that the miracles of the saints stop with their deaths, that the prophets, including the prophet Muhammad, had not seen the preserved tablet, and who was finally executed. Jabarti (I, 50) reports this same story.

6. Shalabi (592-594) also mentions the appearance in al-Azhar of a Takruri (black African) claiming to have been called to heaven by the angel Gabriel and then sent back to earth as a prophet. Shalabi includes two pieces of poetry, a 10 line piece and a shorter verse relating to the Takruri. Jabarti (I, 146) retells this incident, but in a slightly shortened version. He omits the longer poem of 10 lines, but includes the second, shorter verse (Shalabi, 594; Jabarti, I, 147). This is another example demonstrating how Jabarti edited Shalabi or even changed the chronology of events. While Shalabi (596) places the story of the Takruri in May, 1735, after the arrival of the new governor Bakir Pasha, al-Jabarti (I, 147) mentions it in January, 1735, before the arrival of Bakir Pasha.

7. At this point al-Jabarti follows Ahmad Shalabi fairly closely, editing out some information and omitting a few incidents from Shalabi's general chronology. He omits one item from Shalabi's history that follows the account of the Takruri, but then repeats Shalabi's next story on those who claimed that the end of the world had almost arrived. Jabarti (I, 148) next mentions another strong wind that knocked down many houses and uprooted trees, an event recorded by Ahmad Shalabi (596).

There are numerous examples, therefore, to demonstrate that al-Jabarti borrowed heavily from the history of Ahmad Shalabi. In his own comparison of Jabarti's *'Aja'ib al-Athar* with Shalabi's chronicle 'Abd al-Rahim cites another group of examples. He even went so far as to contend that parts of Ahmad Shalabi's work can be found for virtually every year or event of al-Jabarti's account of the years 1688-1737.[13] There are other examples, though, to show that al-Jabarti was clearly borrowing from Ahmad al-Damurdashi as well as from Shalabi, for Jabarti includes in his chronicle information from the Damurdashi manuscript that is not found in Shalabi. It appears, therefore, that al-Jabarti integrated information from other sources into the basic chronology he borrowed from Ahmad Shalabi. Consider the following examples.

8. Beginning with the naming of the bedouin chief Habib al-Dijwi and the fight between the factions of Ayyub Bey and 'Iwaz Bey, we run into long passages in al-Jabarti that parallel Ahmad al-Damurdashi's account.

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[13] 'Abd al-Rahim, "Dirasa Muqarana," 206.

Jabarti reports Ayyub Bey's remorse when shown the head of the defeated ʻIwaz Bey and records the exact words found in al-Damurdashi: "We can no longer live in Egypt" (Jabarti, I, 43-44; al-Damurdashi, 156).

9. Jabarti's version of Muhammad Bey Qatamish's campaign against the Hawwara bedouins and Muhammad Bey in Upper Egypt is very close to Ahmad al-Damurdashi's account (Jabarti, I, 47-48; al-Damurdashi, 177-180).

10. Jabarti's account of how Qitas Bey instigated Salim ibn Habib to cut the tails of Ismaʻil Bey's horses while in their pasture also parallels the account found in al-Damurdashi (Jabarti, I, 51; al-Damurdashi, 192).

11. Jabarti's account of the governor's plot against the four amirs is similar to the tale as recounted by al-Damurdashi, down to the name of the bedouin messenger, al-Bakkari, who carried a message to the governor (Jabarti, I, 52; al-Damurdashi, 185-189).

12. Jabarti's story of how Çerkes Muhammad Bey was chosen to go on campaign, then refused to depart until paid in cash from the taxes of Tarrana parallels the Damurdashi account, but edits out some of the information contained in al-Damurdashi (Jabarti I, 53-55; al-Damurdashi, 223-225).

13. Jabarti's handling of Çerkes Muhammad Bey's return to Cairo after his exile, his hiding with the governor, and his reemergence also parallels the Damurdashi version. (Jabarti, I, 54-55; al-Damurdashi, 240-243).

14. There is some confusion in the available manuscript sources concerning the destination of Çerkes Muhammad Bey when he fled Egypt. The Damurdashi manuscripts are themselves divided on the matter, some claiming he sought refuge with the Russian Czar and others claiming that he sought the intercession of the Austrian emperor. All agree, however, that he ultimately proceeded to Malta where he secured a ship for his return to Darna, thence to Egypt. At this point in the story Jabarti seems to rely once more on Shalabi's account of Çerkes' temporary exile, for like Shalabi, Jabarti is more indefinite on the country to which Çerkes fled. While the Damurdashi manuscripts mention Russia or the Austrian empire, Jabarti, following Shalabi, states merely that Çerkes fled to *al-Diyar al-Rumiya* (Europe, or Turkey) (Jabarti, I, 128; Shalabi, 567).

15. But Jabarti appears to draw his account of the death of Çerkes from al-Damurdashi, for he includes information not found in Shalabi. Jabarti includes the tale of Çerkes and his horse getting stuck in the mud of the Nile and drowning. He then relates how a peasant operator of a *shaduf* loaded the body of Çerkes in a boat, and mentions the comment made by the bedouin chief Salim ibn Habib as the boat carrying Çerkes' body approached,

namely, "This must be a big fish coming towards us" (Jabarti, I, 130; al-Damurdashi, 385-386).

16. As ʻAli Bey al-Hindi went to his execution he was admonished by one of his captors, "This is the punishment for the man who clips his wing with his own hand." This admonition is found in both Jabarti (I, 132) and al-Damurdashi (340).

17. The story of ʻAbd al-Ghaffar's reception with the governor and of the conspiracy of al-Hindi in gathering all the dissident forces in his house also appear in al-Damurdashi (Jabarti, I, 59; al-Damurdashi, 295-296, 309-310).

These examples appear in particular to be taken from Ahmad al-Damurdashi because al-Jabarti does not give exact dates for these episodes. Whenever Jabarti follows Ahmad Shalabi he offers precise dates, by day, month and year, for the incidents he recounts, but in the above cases Jabarti is vague as to dates, just as al-Damurdashi himself is vague with dates throughout his lengthy history. Moreover, al-Damurdashi provides more information than Shalabi on the disputes among the mamluk amirs and the governors, so it is natural that al-Jabarti would draw his account of these incidents from al-Damurdashi.

It has been mentioned that Jabarti frequently edited the accounts from earlier sources or confused dates. At times, his reluctance to copy the full account of events found in his sources leads to an abbreviated tale or even to an account that is not as satisfactory as the one found in al-Damurdashi or Shalabi. The following examples serve to emphasize this point.

18. Jabarti's second version explaining the origin of the Faqariya-Qasimiya split retells the story of the banquet at the house of Zayn al-Faqar Bey (Jabarti, I, 23; al-Damurdashi, 2-4).

19. Jabarti mentions a battle between the bedouins and Dhu ʾl-Faqar Bey outside Cairo and a bedouin attack upon the pilgrim caravan at the Shurafaʾ narrows, but his account is not as full as Ahmad al-Damurdashi's and offers no reason for the attacks. Moreover, Jabarti implies these occurred during the *mashyakha* of Zayn al-Faqar Bey, but al-Damurdashi claims it was during the *mashyakha* of Ibrahim Bey Abu Shanab (Jabarti, I, 24; al-Damurdashi, 7-8).

20. Jabarti's account (I, 35) explaining why the mint was moved from the Janissary barracks to the courtyard of the diwan in 1709 is not as full as the same account found in al-Damurdashi (131-133).

21. Nor is Jabarti's account (I, 36-37) of the incident of the eight banished Janissaries as full as the al-Damurdashi version (116-117, 135-142). Here, again, Jabarti seems to be following Shalabi (218-219).

There are also several examples to suggest that al-Jabarti either fabricated some information, mis-copied from his sources, or consulted a source or sources other than Ahmad Shalabi and Ahmad al-Damurdashi.

22. For instance, al-Jabarti (I, 146) recounts the arrival of a messenger at the end of 1146 (June, 1734) ordering the minting of new coins and the appointment of a *sanjaq bey* to take a census of Christians and Jews and to collect the poll tax from these non-Muslims. Both Shalabi (590-591) and al-Damurdashi (408) agree that the highest class of *dhimmis* was to pay 400 *nisf fiddas* per head, the middle class 200 and the lowest 100. But Jabarti (I, 146) has the wealthy class paying 420 *nisf fiddas*, the middle class 270, and the lowest class 100. Moreover, Shalabi places this census at the end of 1147, not at the end of 1146 as Jabarti has it. Since Shalabi and al-Damurdashi are in agreement as to the taxes to be paid by the three classes of *dhimmis*, and al-Jabarti uses different figures, is it possible that al-Jabarti was consulting yet another manuscript source relating to this period or did he simply get the figures wrong?

23. Shalabi (227) says that at the end of Rabi' II Ibrahim Bey was dismissed as *amir al-hajj* and that 'Iwaz Bey was appointed the new commander of the pilgrimage. Jabarti (I, 37) offers the same information, but claims it occurred at the end of Rabi' I.

When we finally reach the first group of biographies in al-Jabarti's work it becomes apparent that the biographies of the *'ulama'* and sufis could not have been taken from Ahmad al-Damurdashi, for he does not mention these groups in his works.[14] Ahmad Shalabi does note the deaths of a few *'ulama'*, *ashraf* and saints, but Jabarti does not seem to have made much use of these brief notes of passing. But most of the biographies of the amirs and important merchants recorded by al-Jabarti for the period 1688-1756 appear to have been extracted from one, or both, of the two earlier sources.

24. Shalabi (589) reports the death of Qasim al-Shara'ibi, noting that the head of his funeral procession reached al-Azhar while the end had still not left his house in al-'Ataba al-Zarqa'. Jabarti (I, 87) offers this same comment on the funeral cortege.

25. Much of the biography of Ibrahim Bey, including the incident involving the Khawaja 'Ali al-Fayyumi and the jeweler who went on pilgrimage, appear in al-Damurdashi (Jabarti, I, 92; al-Damurdashi, I, 20-

[14] I have been told by the Libyan scholar 'Ammar Jhaidar that Libyan students are undertaking a project to trace al-Jabarti's biographies of the *'ulama'* in the work of al-Zubaydi and others.

26). This story appears to be common to most of the manuscripts of the eighteenth century.

26. In Jabarti's account of the execution of Qitas Bey by treachery we find the incident of the governor's proposed visit to the Sabil 'Allam, which is also in al-Damurdashi but not in Shalabi (Jabarti, I, 98-99; al-Damurdashi, 205-207).

27. Jabarti's account (I, 100) of the great celebration surrounding the circumcision of the governor's sons is found in a much fuller version in al-Damurdashi (42-46). The entire list of food items and their prices by weight, found in al-Jabarti (I, 103) reproduces most of the same list found in al-Damurdashi (108-110).

28. Much of the biography of Isma'il Bey ibn 'Iwaz Bey is taken from al-Damurdashi (258), including the quatrain that Jabarti includes in I, 119.

29. Much of the biography of Muhammad Bey Çerkes, particularly the story of his drowning in the Nile, is found in al-Damurdashi, but not in Shalabi (Jabarti, I, 126-131; al-Damurdashi, 385-386).

30. Jabarti's biographies of 'Ali Bey al-Hindi (I, 131-133), of the Mu'allim Da'ud, the controller of weights (I, 137), of the unfortunate 'Abd al-Ghaffar Agha (I, 143), and of the other amirs of that period all appear to be extracted from the works of both Ahmad Shalabi and Ahmad al-Damurdashi.

Jabarti claimed in the lengthy statement quoted at the beginning of this paper that the "booklets" of the common soldiers ended, like Shalabi, in 1737. It is obvious, however, that Jabarti continued his account for the period 1737-1756 from Ahmad al-Damurdashi, but in a highly synopsized version. Even a quick comparison of al-Jabarti with al-Damurdashi demonstrates this fact.

31. Jabarti (I, 150-151) remarks that Mustafa Pasha was succeeded by Sulayman Pasha al-Shami, who promised 'Umar Bey the leadership of the beylicate if they could get rid of 'Uthman Dhu 'l-Faqar, Ibrahim Bey Qatamish, 'Ali Katkhuda al-Julfi and others. This information is found in al-Damurdashi (451).

32. Jabarti (I, 151) then skips a lot of information included in al-Damurdashi before reporting that the *beys* deposed Sulayman Pasha, and ordered him to transfer himself to Qasr Yusuf. Jabarti repeats the attempt by Sulayman Pasha to flee into the Janissary barracks (al-Damurdashi, 464). Jabarti (I, 151) places Sulayman Pasha's dispatch of 200 riflemen to take control of the Janissary barracks by trickery in its proper chronology, before his deposition, but al-Damurdashi (475-477) reported this incident out of chronology, some pages beyond the deposition of Sulayman Pasha.

33. Jabarti (I, 151) merely notes that the new governor, ʿAli Pasha, "had faith" in al-Shaykh al-Bakri, but al-Damurdashi (472) relates a dream that ʿAli Pasha had while on campaign in Europe in which al-Shaykh al-Bakri's spirit came to him and delivered a fortress to the besieging ʿAli Pasha. Jabarti (I, 151) also reports ʿAli Pasha's speech to the *beys* in Kara Maydan in which he said, among other things, "I did not come to stir up trouble." This speech is recorded in al-Damurdashi (478).

34. Jabarti (I, 152) provides a shortened version of the dispute between Ibrahim Bey Qatamish, who owed 40,000 *ardabbs* to the government in taxes, and the governor. The account of this incident is much fuller in al-Damurdashi (528-531).

35. Jabarti (I, 152) follows al-Damurdashi (532-533) in describing the murders of Khalil Bey, ʿAli Bey al-Dumyati and Muhammad Bey in the citadel.

36. Jabarti (I, 153) repeats al-Damurdashi (541) in reporting the deposition of Raghib Pasha. When asked to issue a firman for the death of Husayn Bey al-Khashshab, Raghib Pasha responded, "How can I issue a firman to kill a man who has executed the orders of our master, the sultan." This quotation comes from al-Damurdashi.

Conclusions

In light of this brief comparison of the history of al-Jabarti with the earlier works of Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi and Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani, we should recognize the following.

Al-Jabarti is not the primary source for the greater part of the twelfth *hijri* century of Egyptian history, but the transmitter of earlier sources. It can be argued that in denigrating the al-Damurdashi chronicles and in claiming that he lost his only copy of Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani, al-Jabarti was deliberately trying to obscure his true sources and giving greater importance to his own work. Given that al-Jabarti did not begin collecting material for his history until the 1770s, he could not have obtained the detailed information as to dates and events of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by the methods he himself described, that is, by consulting older people, *waqf* documents, and tombstones. Moreover, he is incorrect in stating that there were no other manuscript histories for the middle of the eighteenth century besides the booklets of some common soldiers and the one he had seen by Ahmad Shalabi, none of which went beyond the year 1737, for he himself appears to also have consulted the

history of the crisis of 1711 composed by Shaykh ʿAli al-Shadhili and the chronicle of Yusuf al-Mallawani.[15]

The denials of al-Jabarti to the contrary, the manuscipts of Ahmad Shalabi ibn ʿAbd al-Ghani and Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi are both major sources for al-Jabarti's reconstruction of the period 1688-1756. By his own account al-Jabarti consulted Ahmad Shalabi, and Shalabi indeed appears to be the major source for al-Jabarti's own review of the years 1688-1737. Although he tries to hide his use of the Damurdashi manuscript, evidence presented above indicates that he borrowed heavily from Ahmad al-Damurdashi, particularly for the period 1737-1756 when Jabarti had no other manuscript sources from which to draw. Moreover, the British Museum copy of Ahmad al-Damurdashi's manuscript notes in ending that it was copied in ʿAli Bey's mosque (in Tanta) in 1215 (1800), which means that the manuscript in one or more copies was available to al-Jabarti. It is certain that he consulted one of these copies. It should also be recognized that both Shalabi and al-Damurdashi provide fuller accounts of the period 1688-1756 than al-Jabarti, who synopsized or edited these two works for his own chronicle of the period.[16] There are also significant differences in facts and chronology between al-Jabarti's history and the earlier chronicles.

In comparing the manuscripts of Ahmad Shalabi and Ahmad al-Damurdashi with al-Jabarti's history it seems safe to say that al-Jabarti relied more heavily on Ahmad Shalabi's chronicle than on the Damurdashi account, at least for the period 1688-1737, because he felt that Ahmad Shalabi's work was of a higher quality. For the period 1737-1756 he was forced to resort to Ahmad Damurdashi's manuscript, for it covers a period beyond both the Shalabi work and other al-Damurdashi manuscripts. We do not yet know from what source al-Jabarti drew his information between 1756 and the period in the 1770s when he started collecting his own data.

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[15] See the contributions by ʿAbd al-Rahim and André Raymond in this volume.

[16] Although Ahmad al-Damurdashi's manuscript has been consulted by scholars writing on the Ottoman centuries, his lengthy history has not been the object of any systematic study. A brief review of Ahmad al-Damurdashi and his work can be found in Layla ʿAbd al-Latif, "Ahmad al-Damurdash Katkhuda ʿAzaban, Sahib al-Durra al-Musana," in Layla ʿAbd al-Latif, *Taʾrikh wa Muʾarrikhi Misr wa al-Sham ibban al-ʿAsr al-ʿUthmani* (Cairo, al-Khanji Bookshop, 1979), 148-170. For an annotated translation of Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban al-Damurdashi's work, see Daniel Crecelius and ʿAbd al-Wahhab Bakr, *Ahmad Katkhuda ʿAzaban Damurdash's Chronicle of Egypt*, forthcoming 1991 from E.J. Brill, Leiden.

Further investigation of al-Jabarti's biographies of the *'ulama'* and saints from the period before the 1770s will reveal other sources which al-Jabarti consulted. Notwithstanding his own unique contribution for the period 1770-1822, al-Jabarti should not be considered the primary source for the period 1688-1756, but the transmitter of synopsized or edited works of his predecessors from the middle of the 18th century.

SYRIAN MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EGYPT

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Three types of Syrian sources for the history of eighteenth century Ottoman Egypt are chosen in this paper: a travel account written towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, a biographical work, and a chronicle from the last quarter of the century. These three sources written by Damascenes span a century and provide basic information which is not available in the contemporary Egyptian sources. The travel account by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi entitled *al-Haqiqa wa 'l-majaz fi Rihlat Bilad al-Sham wa Misr wa 'l-Hijaz*[1] projects the interests of this sufi-*'alim* traveller which are influenced by his upbringing in a Syrian cultural milieu. What Nabulsi saw and what he failed to see during his journey in Egypt is important in shedding light on the country he visited as well as on his formation as a scholar. The biographical work by Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi, *Silk al-Durar fi A'yan al-Qarn al-Thani 'Ashar*,[2] contains biographies of Egyptian *'ulama'* and notables, some of whom are not included in al-Jabarti, and whose renown had acquired Arab-Islamic dimensions by being included by a top Syrian *'alim* among the notables of the eighteenth century at large. The chronicle by Hasan al-Shahir bi Ibn al-Siddiq, *Ghara'ib al-Bada'i' wa 'Aja'ib al-Waqa'i'*,[3] is the most important source for studying the military operations of Egyptian-mamluk troops in an alien territory, namely Syria.

NABULSI'S TRAVEL ACCOUNT

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (5 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1051—24 Sha'ban 1143/18 March, 1641—4 March, 1731) was the most prolific writer of his

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[1] I have used the Zahiriya Library copy (now at al-Asad Library) No. 3226. A xerox copy of the Dar al-Kutub manuscript in Cairo, No. 344 Jughrafiya, has been published under the title *al-Haqiqa wa 'l-Majaz fi al-Rahla ila Bilad al-Sham wa Misr wa 'l-Hijaz*, edited (without footnotes) by Ahmad 'Abd al-Majid Hreidi, (Cairo: Markaz Tawthiq al-Turath, 1986). This edition, pages 495-623, contains a very detailed and useful index prepared by Nawal Ahmad Shahin.

[2] (Bulaq: 1301 A.H.), four volumes.

[3] Staatsbibliothek Preusischer Kulturbesitz, now in West Berlin National Library, MS 9832.WE (II) 417.

age. He authored about 300 works, 240 of which can be traced in manuscript form. Like other scholars of his age, he belonged to more than one sufi *tariqa*. He affiliated himself with the Naqshbandiya and the Qadiriya *tariqas* which figure in his titles, and was a staunch defender of the foremost sufi scholar Muhyi ʾl-Din ibn ʿArabi.[4] Unlike many scholars of his age, Nabulsi did not seek support from Ottoman officialdom; hence he did not occupy distinguished positions in the religious hierarchy. His nomination by the Damascenes as Hanafi mufti of their city in 1135/1722-23 was not confirmed by the *Shaykh al-Islam* in Istanbul who favored another Damascene, Muhammad Khalil al-Bakri al-Siddiqi.[5]

A number of Nabulsi's works have been published, several of them recently, including three of his travels to the Biqaʿ and Baʿalbak, to Jerusalem, and to Tripoli. The largest of his travel accounts, *al-Rihla al-Kubra*, as Nabulsi himself refers to it, was *al-Haqiqa wa ʾl-Majaz*. Nabulsi started his journey in Bilad al-Sham on 1 Muharram 1105/2 September, 1693, and after visiting Egypt and the Hijaz, ended his journey in Damascus on 5 Safar 1106/25 September, 1694. He completed writing his account of the journey in Rabiʿ II, 1110/September, 1698. Of the 388 days Nabulsi spent on this trip, he stayed 99 days in Bilad al-Sham, 83 days in Egypt, and 206 days on his way to and from the Hijaz. Despite the importance of this work, the availability of several manuscripts of it, its publication in part or as a whole in Damascus in 1881-82, and in Cairo in 1906-07, and the favorable comments made by Orientalists on it around the middle of the nineteenth century,[6] it has not been used to any great extent in studies on Egypt.[7] Oddly enough, in his brief biograpahical note on the death of al-Nabulsi, al-Jabarti gives several titles of his works, but of all his travel accounts, he makes reference only to *al-Rihla al-Qudsiya*.[8]

In the section on Egypt, as indeed in the other sections, al-Nabulsi's *al-Haqiqa wa ʾl-Majaz* provides important information on religious and social aspects of Egyptian life. Nabulsi's description of places he visited and people he met in Egypt, his accurate pronounciation of place names, and the

[4]Muradi, *Silk al-Durur*, vol. III, 30-38.

[5]Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus, 1723-1783* (Beirut: Khayats, 1970), 83.

[6]Heribert Busse, ed., *al-Tuhfa al-Nabulsiya fi ʾl-Rihla al-Tarabulsiya*, by ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (Beirut: 1971), 17-18.

[7]See the introduction to Hreidi's edition.

[8]Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, *ʿAja'ib al-Athar fi ʾl-Tarajim wa ʾl-Akhbar*, four volumes (Bulaq: 1297 A.H./1879-80), Vol. I, 154.

historical background he gives to each locality add considerable importance to his work. He quoted from an earlier travel account by the Medinese Muhammad Kibrit (1012-1070/1603-1660) entitled *Rihlat al-Shitaʾ wa ʾl-Sayf* which he undertook in the year 1039/1629-30. Kibrit visited Bilad al-Sham, al-Rum (Istanbul), and Cairo where, like al-Nabulsi later on, he associated himself with a member of the Bakri family.[9] Nabulsi also quoted historical information from two important Egyptian authors: ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Abi Bakr Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (849-911/1445-1505) in his work *Ahsan al-Muhadara fi Akhbar Misr wa ʾl-Qahira*[10] and ʿAli al-Maqrizi (766-845/1365-1441) in his work *al-Mawaʿiz wa ʾl-Iʿtibar bi Dhikr al-Khitat wa ʾl-Athar*, abbreviated into *al-Khitat*.

Nabulsi left Gaza on his way to Egypt on 11 Rabiʿ II, 1105/10 December, 1693, which was the 99th day of his journey, arrived in Khan Yunis the same day and proceeded to al-ʿArish, which he reached at noon 12 Rabiʿ II. Here he provides important information on what was considered historically the borderline between Bilad al-Sham and Egypt. He says that the small citadel in Khan Yunis is the first of the halting places leading into Egypt (*awwal manzil min hukm manazil al-safar ila Misr al-Mahrusa*).[11] Upon arriving at al-ʿArish, he remarks that it is the end of the border of al-Sham and the beginning of that of Egypt (*akhir hudud al-Sham wa awwal hudud Misr kama huwa al-mashhur bayn al-anam*).[12] On leaving Egypt on his way to the Hijaz, Nabulsi considered the halting place of Qaʾitbey (*manzilat Qaʾitbey*) as the last stop on his visit to Egypt. He arrived there the same day he left Cairo, on 6 Rajab, 1105/3 March, 1694.

Nabulsi's journey is of great importance in a number of ways. The desert route he followed from Khan Yunis to Cairo was the same route used by the trade caravan which he and his fellow travellers accompanied. Here as elsewhere on the roads he followed, Nabulsi describes the state of the fortresses at halting places, the garrisons stationed there, the amount of water available, the facilities offered, and, more importantly, security on the roads. Bedouins demanded the right of passage or protection money, bandits intercepted voyagers, and security was sought in the absence of government control by voyagers joining regular, protected caravans. The nature of the

[9]Muhammad Amin al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-Athar fi Aʿyan al-Qarn al-Hadi ʿAshar*, four volumes (Cairo: 1284/1869), Volume IV, 28-31.

[10]Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Saʾira bi Aʿyan al-Miʾa al-ʿAshira, three volumes, edited by Jibraʾil Jabbur (Beirut: 1945-59), Volume I, 226-31.*

[11]*Al-Haqiqa*, folio 148a.

[12]*Ibid.*, folio 149a.

terrain traversed by al-Nabulsi, the fertility of the land, and the degree of its cultivation determine the frontier of settlement. The fluctuation of this frontier indicates the degree of government authority, the state of bedouin insubordination, and consequently the reaction of villagers as to cultivation or desertion of their lands.

Nabulsi was hosted in Cairo by Shaykh Zayn al-ʿAbidin al-Bakri al-Siddiqi, *shaykh al-Sada al-Bakriya fi Misr*, in a guesthouse next to the house of his host in the Azbakiya district. By reporting his daily activity, the meetings he had with *ʿulamaʾ* at the house of his host to which he went daily, the visits he made or received from *ʿulamaʾ* and government functionaries, whose names, titles, and functions he was keen to give, and also by the nature of the conversations they engaged in, Nabulsi sheds much light on the religious and cultural life in general of the learned elite in Cairo.

Nabulsi describes the state of the religious monuments he visited in Cairo, mostly mosques, *zawiyas* (sufi retreats), *takiyas* (hospices), schools, tombs and shrines, and cemeteries such as the Qarafa. He elaborates on the architectural details of many of these monuments, such as the Azhar mosque, the mosque of Sultan Hasan,[13] the mosque of al-Hakim,[14] and especially the mosque of ʿAmru ibn al-ʿAss.[15] The dimensions of this last mosque, according to al-Nabulsi, match those of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, but he rates it lower than the latter which has a better perfection of style and construction (*wa lakinna bunyanahu duna al-jamiʿ al-Umawi min al-itqan*). The mosque of Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir, outside Cairo, which Nabulsi visited on his way to the *zawiya* of Muhammad Damurdash, was in ruin. The *zawiya*, which included the tombs of Shaykh Muhammad and his sons, also contained a mosque cared for by his descendants. Outside, there were fifty to sixty *khalwas* (retreats) for his disciplies (*muridun*).[16] Nabulsi not only visited the tombs and shrines of the *awliyaʾ* (saints) to obtain their blessings, but also their places of residence during their lifetime.

When al-Nabulsi visited the residences of living scholars, such as Ahmad al-Marhumi, the shaykh al-Azhar, he likewise described the details and the number of stories they had. He remarks that most of the houses of Egypt (Misr, Cairo) were made of three stories (*ghalib buyut Misr thalath*

[13] *Ibid.*, folios 188b-189b.

[14] *Ibid.*, folios 230b-231a.

[15] *Ibid.*, folios 210b-213b.

[16] *Ibid.*, folios 245a-245b.

tabaqat), and that some even had five.[17] Next to al-Marhumi's house was al-Madrasa al-Fakhriya, also known as Jamiʿ al-Banat, which derives its name, according to al-Nabulsi, from the girls who went there to find a husband among the worshippers.

Nabulsi was not just interested in visiting the dead; he was also keen on visiting the places of amusement of the living, such as gardens and water pools like Qasr al-ʿAyni, Jazirat al-Rawda, and Bustan al-Daftardar. He described the flow of water in the latter place and the use of *nurias*.[18]

Nabulsi's description of the buildings of the living and the dead, their interrelationship with each other, and their proximity to major locations within the city glaringly shows the impact of the cult of saints on the topography of an Islamic city. No clear barriers can indeed be drawn between the living and the dead.

Travel accounts of this nature which occur at intervals and are undertaken by non-locals who can see and appreciate more details than natives are of paramount importance in surveying persistence and change in architectural patterns and the political, social and economic factors affecting them within the context of society and power.

MURADI, JABARTI, AND EGYPT

Syrian biographical works surveying religious notables throughout the Muslim world abound during the Ottoman period. The fact that Damascus was the meeting place of one of the two major pilgrim caravans and the place of residence for many visiting *ʿulamaʾ*, whether teachers, students or passers-by, on their way to or from Istanbul, has contributed to the inclusion of many non-Syrian *ʿulamaʾ* and notables in Syrian biographical dictionaries. Biographers also had correspondents outside Syria who supplied them with information.

The story of how Murtada al-Zabibi engaged his pupil al-Jabarti in Cairo in collecting biographical data without telling him that it was destined for Muradi, how Zabidi (d. April, 1791) and Muradi (d. October, 1791) died within a short period of each other, and how al-Jabarti was left with the notes of the first and the data he collected which was destined for al-Muradi and which eventually prompted him among other things to write his history

[17] *Ibid.*, folio 252b.

[18] *Ibid.*, folios 253a-253b.

is well-known.[19] But the relationship among Muradi, Jabarti and Zabidi remains somewhat puzzling and needs further investigation, perhaps a comparative study between the biographies of Egyptian notables which occur in the work of Muradi's *Silk al-Durar* and Jabarti's *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*.

During a short life not exceeding thirty-two years, Muradi, who was born in Damascus in 1173/1759-60, was first appointed to the prestigious position of superintendent of the pious endowments (*nazir al-awqaf*) of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus in 1191/1777-78. He succeeded his deposed cousin ʿAbdallah al-Muradi as Hanafi mufti of Damascus on 7 Shaʿban, 1192/31 August, 1778 while he was in Istanbul, where he enjoyed the support of the *Shaykh al-Islam* Muhammad Sharif, and others. In 1200/1785-86 he was appointed *naqib al-ashraf* in Damascus in addition to his other posts. He died in Aleppo towards the end of Safar, 1206/end of October, 1791.[20]

Muradi authored several books and treatises, chief among which are his famous biographical dictionary, *Silk al-Durar*, a biographical work of the muftis of Damascus since the 10th/16th century, *ʿArf al-Basham*, and a book-lcngth biography of his father, ʿAli al-Muradi, entitled *Matmah al-Wajid fi Tarjamat al-Walid al-Majid*.[21] Whilc prcparing his biographical dictionary, Muradi engaged the services of several correspondents in major Islamic centers. Among these was al-Jabarti in Cairo. Another was al-Hajj Hasan ibn ʿAbd al-Latif from Jerusalem who compiled biographies of eminent *ʿulama'* and shaykhs who lived in Jerusalem in the 12th century *hijri*.[22] Ibn ʿAbd al-Latif was explicit about the request made to him by

[19] See, for example, David Ayalon, "The Historian al-Jabarti and his Background," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* Volume XXIII, part 2, 1960, 217-249; Peter M. Holt, "Al-Jabarti's Introduction to the History of Ottoman Egypt," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XXV (1962), 38-51, reprinted in Holt's *Studies in the History of the Near East* (London: Frank Cass, 1973), 161-176; Muhammad Anis, "Madrasat al-Taʾrikh al-Misri fi ʾl-ʿAsr al-ʿUthmani," *Abhath al-Nadwa al-Dawliya li Taʾrikh al-Qahira, Mars-April, 1969*, three volumes (Cairo: Matbaʿat Dar al-Kutub, 1970-71); see volume III, 1099-1156, especially pages 1112-1133, 1148-1156.

[20] Muradi's autobiography can be found in *ʿArf al-Basham fi man tawalla Fatwa Dimashq al-Sham*, edited by Muhammad Mutiʿ al-Hafez and Riyad ʿAbd al-Hamid Murad, (Damascus: Matbuʿat Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiya, 1979), 144-214; al-Jabarti, *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, Vol. II, 233, and other sources which copied them.

[21] *Matmah al-Wajid* is still in manuscript form. I used the copy at the British Museum Library, London, OR. 4050.

[22] Published by Salamah Salih al-Nuʿaymat, *Tarajim Ahl al-Quds fi ʾl-Qarn al-Thamin ʿAshar* (ʿAmman: 1985).

Muradi to prepare biographies for him (*wa kana sababan li tahririhi wa jamʿihi wa tastirihi ... Mawlana al-Sayyid Khalil Afandi al-Muradi ... fa imtithalan li amrihi al-mutaʿ harrartu hadhihi al-risala wa ʾl-faqir qalil al-bidaʿa*).[23]

Jabarti himself tells us that Muradi had written directly to him upon learning of the death of al-Zabidi and that he had asked al-Jabarti to send him the data he and Zabidi had collected. Before this was done, though, Muradi also died. According to this version, Muradi did not profit from the data. This might indeed explain the scarcity of biographies of Egyptian notables in Muradi's four volume *Silk al-Durar* compared, for example, with the biographical work *Khulasat al-Athar* of Muhibbi of the 11th/17th century which had far more biographies of Egyptian notables.[24] Muradi's *Silk al-Durar* contains only thirty-two biographies of Egyptian notables. Of these, eighteen have biographies in al-Jabarti's work. The question then becomes to what extent the biographies shared by the two authors duplicate each other, agree in broad lines, or differ one from the other? By comparing these biographies, it is noticed that in most of them al-Jabarti provided more information than did al-Muradi. On the other hand, Muradi provided morc concrete information than al-Jabarti in a few biographies. A case in point is the biography of Yusuf al-Hafni (Muradi, IV, 241; Jabarti, I, 263) wherc Muradi provides more data on al-Hafni than al-Jabarti and also quotes more of his poetry.

Jabarti gives more details of the life of ʿIssa al-Barawi than does Muradi (Muardi, III, 273; Jabarti, I, 312). Muradi (I, 148) gives the date of the death of Ahmad al-Nafrawi as 10 Rabiʿ II, 1120/29 June, 1708, whereas Jabarti (I, 73) gives only the year as 1125/1713-14 and mentions his age as eighty-two. Muradi refers to al-Nafrawi as Ahmad ibn Ghanim while Jabarti calls him Ahmad ibn Ghunaym. Muradi (IV, 62) gives the name of a Maliki shaykh of al-Azhar who died in Dhu ʾl-Hijja, 1101/September-October, 1690 as Muhammad Kharashi, whereas Jabarti (I, 65) renders it Muhammad al-Kharshi and gives the date of his death simply as 1101.

A great difference between the data of both authors occurs in the biography of ʿAbdallah Anis (Muradi, III, 116; Jabarti, I, 166). Muradi identifies him as al-Hanafi al-Adranawi, *shaykh zawiyat al-Mawlawiya* in Egypt, who converted to this *tariq* at the hands of Ustadh Rajab al-Mawlawi al-Adranawi, learned calligraphy from the calligrapher Muhammad Nuri al-Misri and achieved prominence in it, went on pilgrimage and then settled in

[23] *Ibid.*, 398-399.

[24] Based on a study of its four volumes.

Egypt where he became *shaykh* of the Mawlawi *zawiya*. Jabarti refers to him simply as one of the experts in calligraphy which he learned from al-Shakiri and others. He excelled in this art and taught it to many others, among whom was Hasan Afandi, the then *shaykh al-kataba fi Misr* (chief calligrapher in Egypt) to whom he offered the *ijaza* (diploma) in a public ceremony. Jabarti adds that ʿAbdallah Anis was a friend of *mir liwa'* ʿUthman Bey Dhu 'l-Faqar. Jabarti alone quotes two poetic verses in praise of ʿAbdallah Anis. Both authors agree on the date of his death in 1159/1746-47. In the biography of Mustafa, al-ʿAzizi Muradi (IV, 178) gives the date of his death as about 1160 A.H. whereas Jabarti (I, 161-62) puts it in 1154 A.H.

Since Muradi, according to al-Jabarti's account, did not have access to al-Jabarti's notes nor to those of Zabidi, it seems certain on the basis of the thirty-two biographical notices of prominent Egyptians whom Muradi included in his work, and on the inclusion of other information on Egypt scattered in Muradi's work, that he had access to other sources about Egypt, albeit limited ones, as witness the little information he provides about Egypt and the Egyptians. However, it also seems likely that additions were made to Muradi's work after his death because it is unlikely that he got much additional information within the short period between the death of Zabidi (Shaʿban, 1205/April, 1791), when he wrote urging al-Jabarti to send the notes, and his own death in Aleppo in Safar, 1206/October, 1791.[25]

Muhammad Jamil al-Shatti, a twentieth-century Damascene biographer, mentioned in his biographical work that Muradi's *Silk al-Durar* had some *lacunae* after his death and cautioned his readers about this.[26] The *lacunae* was made right by al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Halim al-Luji, who completed and edited Muradi's biographical dictionary, as it is stated clearly at the end of the Bulaq edition of *Silk al-Durar*. Al-Luji finished editing Muradi's work at the end of Shawwal, 1211/end of April, 1797) at the request of the mufti ʿAbd al-Rahman Afandi al-Muradi, who succeeded his relative, the deceased Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi (*intaha al-kitab tahriran wa tamma bi hamd Allah tahbiran ʿala yadd faqir ʿafu rabbihi wa asir wasmat dhanbihi al-haqir ʿAbd al-Halim ibn Ahmad al-maʿruf bi 'l-Luji wa kana al-faragh min tahririhi li khitam Shawwal sanat ibda ʿashrata wa maʾatayn wa alf*).[27] Shatti attests to al-Luji's editing of *Silk al-Durar* by saying that he is the one who copied and completed the history of Muradi after his death (*wa huwa katib taʾrikh al-Muradi wa mukammiluhu baʿda wafatihi*).[28]

[25]Jabarti, II, 236.

[26]Muhammad Jamil al-Shatti, *Aʿyan Dimashq, 1201-1350* (Damascus: 1972), 103.

[27]Muradi, *Silk al-Durar*, IV, 267.

[28]Shatti, *Aʿyan Dimashq*, 156.

It is thus likely that al-Luji might have added biographies of Egyptians in Muradi's *Silk al-Durar*. But by examining the death dates of the Egyptian notables mentioned in Muradi's work it becomes apparent that the latest date of death of any of the biographees had occurred on 11 Rajab, 1199/30 May, 1785), that is, about six years before al-Muradi's death. Muradi could have thus obtained the information himself. There is proof, however, that either al-Luji or the proofreader for the Bulaq edition (*khadim tashih al-ʿulum bi dar al-tibaʿa al-kubra*)[29] had inserted excerpts from al-Jabarti's *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar* in the biography of ʿUmar al-Zahir al-Zaydani (Zahir al-ʿUmar) dealing with the campaign of Muhammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab in Syria (*intaha ma naqalnahu min ʿAjaʾib al-Athar bi hurufihi*).[30] The addition which comes immediately after the end of Zahir's biography is referred to as *istitrad* (digression).

The importance of Muradi's *Silk al-Durar* for the history of eighteenth century Egypt comes from the information it provides about certain notables not included in al-Jabarti's work or whose biographies are very brief and insignificant in al-Jabarti. *Silk al-Durar* also provides information about ʿAli Bey's expedition into Syria as well as about Abu 'l-Dhahab's later expedition. Muradi's work also allows a comparative study between the notables of Egypt, Syria, and other countries at that time.

SYRIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND ʿALI BEY'S CAMPAIGNS INTO SYRIA

Egyptian sources, including Jabarti's *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, have limited focus concerning the operations of Egyptian-mamluk military expeditions into Syria. Contemporary Lebanese sources, which mostly copy one from the other, give imprecise information and sometimes contradict the more reliable sources.[31] This is also the case with ʿAbbud al-Sabbagh and the less reliable Mikha'il al-Sabbagh, the two Sabbagh biographers of Zahir al-ʿUmar.[32]

The most reliable sources for ʿAli Bey's expeditions into Syria are the Damascene sources, notably the chronicle of Hasan ibn al-Siddiq, *Gharaʾib*

[29]Muradi, *Silk al-Durar*, IV, 268. An addition ascribed to the proofreader (*al-musahhih*) is made, for instance, in III, 116.

[30]Muradi, *Silk al-Durar*, III, 184-187.

[31]Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus*, 255n, 325-28.

[32]ʿAbbud al-Sabbagh, *al-Rawd al-Zahir fi Akhbar Dahir* (Paris Ms, F.A. 4610); Mikhaʾil al-Sabbagh, *Taʾrikh al-Shaykh Zahir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydani*, ed. Q. al-Basha, (Harisa: 1935).

The most reliable sources for ʿAli Bey's expeditions into Syria are the Damascene sources, notably the chronicle of Hasan ibn al-Siddiq, *Ghara'ib al-Bada'iʿ wa ʿAja'ib al-Waqa'iʿ*,[33] short accounts or documents written on their own or included in other sources, and European consular reports. Due to increasing French commercial involvement in southern Syria at the time, the most important consular reports from that region are those of the French.[34] The French archives are thus most useful in providing information about troop movements, transport of war materiale, military engagements, Russian naval activity in alliance with ʿAli Bey, and the economic consequences of the fighting.[35] The French reports are indeed the only major source for the expedition undertaken by Abu 'l-Dhahab against Zahir al-ʿUmar in 1775 and on which the Egyptian leader died.[36]

Ibn al-Siddiq's description of ʿAli Bey's military campaigns in Syria is unique in so far as military operations are concerned. His chronicle deals specifically with the eventful years of 1184-85/1770-72. Nothing is known about the identity of Ibn al-Siddiq nor about the authorship of the manuscript. Ibn al-Siddiq was apparently a Damascene who wrote in colloquial dialect, which makes the manuscript difficult to read. His detailed knowledge of troop movements and combat operations, the lists of high-ranking officers in the Damascene *Yerliya* Corps he gives at the beginning of the manuscript, and the details he provides about everyday events suggest that he was a member of a military corps or that he was reiterating the words of another member. In his introduction Ibn al-Siddiq states that he had heard many tales, but has chosen this event (*al-waqiʿa*), i.e., the invasion of Damascus, because it has many interesting aspects which appeal to the listeners and the readers. By its details, names, activity, and warmth, the chronicle seems to have been read in coffee-houses in Damascus.

According to Ibn al-Siddiq, *Ghara'ib al-Bada'iʿ* is divided into two chapters. The first deals with the origins of the rebel ʿAli Bey (*ta'sil al-khariji ʿAli Bey*), while the second discusses the reasons behind his revolt (*wa 'l-thani fi sabab khurujihi*).[37] The chapters are unequal in length, and both of them deal mainly with the introduction. The early career of ʿAli Bey is discussed in very general terms and covers briefly his origins, the

[33]Staatsbibliothek Preusischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, MS 9832; We(II)417, 126 folios.

[34]Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus*, 75-76.

[35]*Ibid.*, 250-282.

[36]*Ibid.*, 305-306.

[37]*Ibid.*, Ibn al-Siddiq, folio 2a.

establishment of his power against his rivals in Egypt, his acquisition of the title *qa'immaqam* (acting governor), and the appearance of his name on Egyptian coinage. Ibn al-Siddiq does not approve of ʿAli Bey's actions and refers to him as infidel, oppressive rebel (*abdaʿa fi 'l-kufr wa 'l-zulm wa 'l-khuruj*).[38] In fact, Ibn al-Siddiq refers throughout the chronicle to the Egyptians (*al-Masarwa*), meaning the mamluks, as *khawarij* (rebels) and *kuffar* (infidels). After a brief account of ʿAli Bey's expedition into the Hijaz (folios 6b-8b), Ibn al-Siddiq devotes the bulk of his work (up to folio 126a) to events in Syria.

Ibn al-Siddiq's chronicle covers several aspects of mamluk military expeditions into Syria. The types and numbers of troops, their movements, military potential, expertise, and behavior are described in amazing detail. The attitude of the local notables, both in the rural and urban areas of the province of Damascus, and the involvement of some of them in the fighting are amply documented. Special significance is attached to the military operations undertaken by the followers of Zahir al-ʿUmar, the Zayadina, their allies the Matawila of Lebanon, who fought on the side of the mamluks, and the local rural notables in the Nablus region who opposed them. The reaction of the Ottoman authorities to the mamluk invasion of Syria, the types of troops they depended upon, and their performance in the fighting are equally described by Ibn al-Siddiq. A very accurate assessment of the military potential of the parties to the fighting is also given.

The military operations did not divert the attention of Ibn al-Siddiq from analyzing in his own expert way the internal politics in Damascus at the time, the collusion between highly placed notables and the Egyptian force, and the repercussions of the fighting on the people. Daily details about the occupation of Damascus by Abu 'l-Dhahab (8-18 June, 1771), and about his withdrawal to Egypt which not only surprised his superior ʿAli Bey, but his allies and adversaries as well, abound in the chronicle, which ends abruptly with the events of 12 Dhu 'l-Qaʿda, 1185/16 February, 1772.[39] The chronicle of Ibn al-Siddiq is thus the most important source about the military operations of the Egyptian-mamluk forces in Syria between 1770-72.

Thus Syrian sources for the history of eighteenth century Ottoman Egypt are essential in writing that history. This of course applies to other centuries during the Ottoman period as well because of the close ties, on the

[38]*Ibid.*, folio 5b.

[39]For the use that can be made of Ibn al-Siddiq's manuscript, see Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus*, 250-284.

political, economic, social and religious levels, that existed between Greater Syria (*Bilad al-Sham*) and Egypt.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ʿABD AL-RAHMAN AL-JABARTI AND NIQULA AL-TURK

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The Lebanese chronicler Niqula al-Turk was born in 1763 in Dayr al-Qamar, the son of Greeks from Istanbul who emigrated to Lebanon and converted to Greek Catholicism. A minor poet of some notoriety, Niqula eventually became the court poet of the Amir Bashir Shihab, who found other uses for Niqula than that of a panegyrist, although he did not disdain that talent, by sending him to Egypt after the French army under Bonaparte had occupied it. In effect, he was the amir's spy. Shihab wished to know what the French were up to and whether they had ambitions of expanding towards his territories.

Niqula thus spent the years between 1798 and 1804 in Egypt, where he wrote his chronicle detailing the events he witnessed or heard about while in that country. He therefore wrote as a foreigner residing in a land which had a different religion from his, whose customs and forms of government were also different,and whose inhabitants, while speaking the same basic language, had a different dialect from his. To the natives of the country Niqula was peripheral, an outsider who was made welcome but did not count for much in the general scheme of things. To Niqula the country was alien and of little emotional interest. He may have felt some sympathy for the Egyptians, although little of that is apparent in his work, but is more likely to have felt a sense of identity with the French, who were Christian and Catholic, even while they denied any religious affiliation, and who employed him as a translator.

On the other hand, ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, born in 1754, was an Egyptian, a member of the elite by virtue of his position as a leading *ʿalim*, and deeply involved in the affairs of his country. He was thoroughly familiar with the country's political, administrative and economic set-up. He wrote his work as an Egyptian witnessing the occupation of his country by a military force that was alien in language, religion and ethnicity. He was an insider writing as a prominent, elite, Muslim scholar, while Niqula wrote as an outsider who was also a member of a religious non-Muslim minority group.

Niqula, a poet, had to earn his living by flattering the rich and the powerful, and had to manifest a certain admiration for those more powerful

than himself and those in positions of authority, for he himself was poor and depended on the high and the mighty for his living. He lived by his wits and by successfully ingratiating himself with the socially prominent. Jabarti, by contrast, was a proud, aloof man, secure in his position, who never had to ingratiate himself with anyone because of his social standing and his great wealth. He depended on no one for his living and thus could be as critical and as disdainful in his writings as he pleased.

In his useful book on Jabarti, Professor Moreh believes the different attitudes shown by Jabarti towards the French occupation in three separate works were the result of his attempts to justify his membership on the French diwan to the Ottomans, for he wrote one of the versions of his history precisely for the Ottoman governor. The three works are: *Ta'rikh Muddat al-Faransis bi Misr min Sanat 1213 ila Sanat 1216; Mazhar al-Taqdis bi Zawal Dawlat al-Faransis; 'Aja'ib al-Athar fi 'l Tarajim wa 'l Akhbar*. The similarity between *Mazhar* and *'Aja'ib al-Athar* is great, while *Muddat al-Fransis* has passages which are dissimilar. Moreh assumed that the first to be written was Ta'rikh *Muddat al-Fransis*, written while the occupation was starting in 1798, the second was *Mazhar al-Taqdis*, written when the French had left at the end of Sha'ban 1213/December 1801, "to clear himself of charges of co-operation with the French,"[1] while the third was *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, written in 1220-21/1805-06. Moreh claimed that Jabarti showed a degree of "fanaticism and intolerance" towards the French in his *Mazhar* "probably because he dedicated it to the Muslim-Turkish commander Yusuf Pasha."[2] *'Aja'ib al-athar* was more neutral because it was written after he had "observed the calamities which the Ottoman soldiers had inflicted upon Egypt once the French had left; this allowed him a perspective by which he was able to reconsider the French vis-a- vis the Ottomans, Mamluks and other Muslim elements."[3]

That may well be so, but my own interpretation differs somewhat. The first version was written under the trauma of an occupation which, for all Jabarti knew, was to become a permanent one. Therefore the author had to show a certain circumspection in his work, lest he find himself in hot water with the new authorities, some of whom could read Arabic. Furthermore the book was written during the first year of the occupation when conditions were not yet too atrocious. Bonaparte was there constantly making friendly

[1]J.S. Moreh, *Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 18.

[2]*Ibid.*, 23.

[3]*Ibid.*

statements to the *'ulama'*, and toned down the worst of abuses. He was leading the *'ulama'* on to believe that he really planned to rule Egypt with their assistance.

The second version, *Mazhar*, reveals Jabarti's true feelings regarding the occupation, and if he was intolerant towards the French, he had good reason. No one writes about the occupation of his country with any degree of tolerance or fondness. There may have been a felt need on his part to ingratiate himself with the Ottomans for fear of punishment but had the Ottomans thought to punish anyone who collaborated with the French they would have started with more important *'ulama'* than Jabarti, the Shaykh al-Azhar, for instance. Jabarti produced his work to show the Ottomans what Egyptians felt towards the French during the occupation of their country. Bitterness and venom were only to be expected, for in this case the occupation had lasted three years, while the first version came during the first year of occupation when things were still unsettled. Perhaps it was also written to show how Egyptians had suffered under the French so as to mitigate Ottoman severity. After all, Jabarti had witnessed the harsh hand of the Ottomans when Jaza'irli Hasan Pasha had carried out his punitive expedition in 1786. Thus Jabarti may have exaggerated the ills of the Egyptians under the French in order to induce the Ottomans to treat them better than the French had done, and to show that the country economically had been bled white by the French and could yield no more to the Ottomans. Gamal al-Din al-Shayyal, for instance, believed that Jabarti wrote his second work "under the influence of national jubilation at the ending of a foreign occupation of the country."[4]

The third version, that of *'Aja'ib al-Athar* was written later, and could be expected to show a degree of hindsight and of balance. The atrocities of the French, by then, paled in the light of Ottoman atrocities.

Both historians, Niqula and Jabarti, were reflections of their own societies and social milieu. Jabarti showed the distaste of a member of the elite for those less affluent than himself in his description of the lower classes. He identified with the elite of his class, the *'ulama'*, the *tujjar*, and even with some of the mamluks who showed respect and friendship towards the *'ulama'*. He admired learning and commerce, but saw little use in military valor *per se*. The rest of the mamluks he despised as uneducated barbarians. Although these are my words, they are his sentiments. He was

[4]Gamal el-Din el-Shayyal, *A History of Egyptian Historiography in the 19th Century* (Alexandria: 1962), 12.

especially contemptuous of the new mamluks imported by ʿAli Bey al-Kabir.

Niqula made his living off the elite and was ready to admire military valor, and any authority figures. He described Bonaparte in a dithyrambic ode as "the valiant hero, gifted with formidable energy" (*al-batal al-sandid dhu ʾl-batsh al-shadid*). Wiet described the ode as showing "incroyable naïvéte,"[5] which is not surprising given Niqula's profession and possible sympathy towards the French. On the other hand, Jabarti admired French administrative skills, and French learning.

Given this brief introduction to the character and social class of the two historians, let us determine in what way their histories are different. Since we cannot go into a comparison of their writings page by page, we will simply choose three themes and show how each historian treated that theme. The themes we have chosen are their attitudes towards the French in general, their attitude towards the mamluks, and their attitude towards the native Egyptians.

We have chosen to discuss attitudes rather than specific events (although these will be included), for the description of an event, or its interpretation, is invariably colored by attitudes. There is no such thing as absolute objectivity in any writer. Certainly the modern historian who strives for objectivity, or at least for a degree of fairness and veracity in his history, is not motivated by the same forces that ruled either of our two historians. Although Jabarti said that he was striving to describe events as he saw them, he did not "see" every event he described, and even when he was an eyewitness, what he saw and reported was colored by what and who he was.

I do not wish to belabor the point but simply to point out that both men revealed their prejudices and their animosities in their writings, hence they were mirrors of the age, but mirrors that were slightly distorted and distorting.

The Jabarti version I have used is that of *Muddat al-Fransis* as presented in Moreh's work, and Niqula's work as edited by Gaston Wiet, which includes both the Arabic original and the French translation.

To begin, let us examine the world view of both authors, that is, how they saw society, what they expected of it, and how they believed society should be governed. Jabarti was a Muslim scholar, and his views were colored by Muslim attitudes. He believed that society was made up of strata,

[5]Gaston Wiet, *Nicolas Turc: Chronique d'Egypte: 1798-1804* (Cairo: 1950), vii..

as mentioned in the Qurʾan. Then he echoed the medieval Egyptian historian al-Maqrizi in stratifiying the rest of society, but modified Maqrizi's structure by placing the *ʿulamaʾ* in the highest stratum after the prophets because, to quote his own father, they "are the quintessence of the word of God on earth,"[6] and the rest of the population came after them in gradations. He believed that there was order in the universe and that order was maintained through strict adherence to the dictates of Islam. Any departure from these norms would cause chaos and disturbance. The function of the ruler was to rule with the assistance of the *ʿulamaʾ*, who rendered advice, (*nasiha*), and who oversaw the morals of society, in so far as they were able to do so. The felicitous society was one where trade and commerce flourished, where the rulers were just and obeyed the word of God, and where everyone had a place and knew it.

The French occupation disturbed that vision. The French claimed to have no religion, which was worse than having a different but identifiable religion from Islam. The French paid lip service to the *ʿulamaʾ* as the natural leaders of the country, but then disturbed the order of things by bringing in changes that were anathema to al-Jabarti, such as putting Copts to judge over Muslims in cases where knowledge of the *shariʿa* was requisite. It is true al-Jabarti frequently castigated the mamluks for behaving badly, yet they were Muslims, but to live under the rule of the ungodly French could only be a major sin, (*min al-kabaʾir).* While the early months of the occupation were mitigated by Bonaparte's presence and his attempts to mollify the *ʿulamaʾ*, later periods under generals Kléber and Menou exacerbated feelings, which explains why the second version was so ferocious. Perhaps Jabarti felt doubly guilty at having accepted to serve under the French, believing that the *ʿulamaʾ* would actually be governing, then discovered that the French had no intentions of allowing the *ʿulamaʾ* to govern at all, so that the *ʿulamaʾ* felt duped. They may, perhaps, have accepted positions under the French in order to mitigate abuses of power, then found they were powerless.

Niqula did not share the same world view. To him the world was divided into those with power and those who had none. He lived in a compartmentalized society, where each *millet* was buffered from the other, but over all lay the strong albeit distant hand of the Ottoman. In Lebanon he could find patrons with whom he could identify, and perhaps in some measure the French to him held the same position in Egypt. But in the final

[6]ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar fiʾl-Tarajim waʾl-Akhbar* (Bulaq: 1879), Vol. 1, 8.

analysis he was indifferent personally to events in Egypt. Hence he rarely sought for cause and effect, but was content to describe and narrate, and chose to do so with events that he believed significant. But at the back of his mind was the ever present concept that he was writing his work for Bashir Shihab in Lebanon first and foremost and then for posterity and the edification of his society.

For example, Niqula gave no more than a page to the battle of Imbaba, describing it as would an outsider concerned with recounting events rather than analyzing their causes. Jabarti described it in detail, adding his editorial commentary that the mamluks were "irresolute, and at odds with one another, being divided in opinion, envious of each other, frightened for their lives, their well being and their comforts; immersed in their ignorance and self-delusion...heedless of the results of their action; contemptuous of their enemy, unbalanced in their reasoning and judgement." He then praised the French, comparing them to the community of early Muslims, fighters in a holy war, who implicitly obeyed their commanders and did not count the cost.[7] Here we detect the bitterness of the native who blamed his country's defeat on his leaders, and yet could envy the enemy for possessing those very same qualities he wished the mamluk army had.

Each man wrote in a different style that reflected the functions they saw for themselves. Niqula was more flowery. In describing the military valor of the French he wrote the following:

> [the French] possess all the techniques of military science, of which the mamluks and the Arabs had not the slightest notion; the last were cavaliers and knew how to use the sword and the lance, while the French knowledge of firearms was extraordinary, (*fununuhum fi 'l-nar ghariba*) and they had extraordinary courage, their hearts of rock, not fearing death, facing it coldly, for they knew they were isolated in Egypt. They did not cede an inch of territory and were constantly victorious.[8]

We may assume the knowledge of firearms and the bravery of the French for given, though the last sentences were editorializing on his part, poetic licence, so to speak. The last sentence was absolute invention, for though the French did win battles they actually controlled little territory beyond Cairo and the Delta.

He then went on to describe General Desaix's government in Upper Egypt, which he praised as rule "with intelligence, fine administration,

[7]Moreh, *Al-Jabarti's Chronicle*, 49ff (French)/6B (Arabic).

[8]Wiet, *Nicolas Turc*, 47-48/32.

finesse, courage, zeal and admirable magnanimity (*husn 'aqlih wa tadbirih wa firasatih wa shaja'atih wa quwat ba'sih wa kathrat jawdatih wa karamih*).[9] Once again we see the tendency to extravagant praise that characterized the court poet. Probably Niqula was neither present during the battle, nor did he go to Upper Egypt to witness Desaix's administrative skills, but he wrote the above either based on hearsay or on sheer admiration for the French.

That admiration was mitigated somewhat when the French invaded Palestine. Niqula's description of the Syrian campaign was quite detailed, for as a Lebanese he could identify with the horrors incurred by the inhabitants of Jaffa, among whom were many fellow Christians, which he could imagine transposed to his country should the French decide to occupy Lebanon, hence his interest in the events at Jaffa and the sympathetic tone he used in describing these events. Then he did not spare the French and used brutal, graphic terms. He wrote that the troops entered the city, "where they massacred the troops in the garrison and the population, pillaged the houses, seized the women, raped the girls and slit the throats of children. Jaffa was the scene of indescribable horrors."[10]

Yet Niqula made no mention of the French plundering the houses of the mamluk *beys* in Cairo, as Jabarti did, nor did he mention that the French imposed fines on the wives of the mamluks and that Nafisa Hanim, the wife of Murad Bey, raised the funds imposed by the French on mamluk wives, of which 200,000 riyals were her share. Jabarti did, then gave in detail the fines the rest of the population was expected to pay.[11] Jabarti was concerned with such matters because they touched him and his friends closely, since they too had to participate in the fines paid, but Niqula, who was not involved, made no mention of these events.

In his *Mazhar*, Jabarti made remarks about the French which Moreh regarded as indications of fanaticism and intolerance. This may be true, but I cannot judge since I have not consulted the *Mazhar*. However, I see little fanaticism or intolerance in either *Muddat al-Fransis* or *'Aja'ib al-Athar*. What could be termed intolerance by some, I am more likely to characterize as arising from distaste and misunderstanding, while some of Jabarti's remarks were in fact absolutely correct. For example, the French ordered that the streets be kept clean of rubbish and watered. Jabarti added that the "streets and houses where the French lived were full of filth, infected earth

[9]*Ibid.*

[10]*Ibid.*, 53/37-38.

[11]Moreh, *Al-Jabarti's Chronicle*, 59ff/9a.

mixed with bird feathers, the entrails of animals, garbage, the stench of their drinks, the sourness of their alcoholic beverages, their urine and excrement, such that a passerby was obliged to hold his nose."[12] There is little reason to assume that Jabarti was wrong there. It makes sense to believe that a place where soldiers of any kind in an army of occupation resided would be surrounded by such filth that the high command was forced to give orders to clean the streets.

Jabarti was particularly incensed by a new diwan the French set up, the *mahkamat al-qadaya* where six Copts along with six Muslim merchants were supposed to judge cases "involving commercial and civil affairs, inheritances and lawsuits." Because few of those sitting on the diwan knew much about *shari'a* law Jabarti believed that such a diwan "established a basis for malice, a foundation for godlessness, a bulwark for injustice, and a source of all manner of evil innovations."[13] Quite rightly so, for when it came to judge the cases the members of the diwan knew nothing about laws of inheritance and had to consult the *'ulama'*. If I am not mistaken, Niqula makes no mention of such a diwan.

Jabarti showed his distaste for the foreigner and his ignorance of French customs when he wrote about their private habits, which, I assume, he learned through hearsay. Thus he claimed that the French did not bury their dead, but threw them on garbage heaps.[14] In the passage where he described the habits of the French male and female, he exaggerates when he describes what he claimed to be the custom of French women, but he is correct when he described those of French men.[15] In another passage he described the new place for amusement that the French had set up near Azbakiya. He was shocked by such a place which he said was for "licentiousness, including all sorts of depravities and unrestricted entertainment, among them drinks and spirits, female singers and European dancers and the like." He believed the place was designed for "food, drink, fornication and gambling."[16] He may never have set foot in the place, but to an *'alim* any place that sold drink, and had gambling and entertainments that were not licit was a sinful, licentious place. Thus while he studied the French strictly as an outside spectator, his comments could hardly be

[12] *Ibid.*, 78/14a.

[13] *Ibid.*, 79/14b.

[14] *Ibid.*, 82/15a.

[15] *Ibid.*, 43/4a.

[16] *Ibid.*, 114/24b.

described as fanatical. One may call them the work of someone ignorant of any society other than his own, but by his own society's standards they were as outrageous as he painted them, and perfectly in keeping with the behavior of any army of occupation stationed in a foreign country.

The one element that Jabarti admired in the French was their love of learning. He was amazed at their institute, its library, the manner of borrowing books, and the contents of the library, some of which he exclaimed "baffle the mind."[17]

Jabarti's attitude towards the masses is clearly revealed in several instances, including the revolt of the blind. The revolt broke out during the month of Jumada al-Ula, led by some *'ulama'*, including the head of the *riwaq* of the blind in al-Azhar. Jabarti castigated his own people for showing rebellion, as "those lacking in foresight," and adds that they preached to the riff-raff, the rabble, the ruffians, the inhabitants of al-'Utuf and Husayniya (*ghawgha'a al-anam...al-suqa, al-ja'ydiya, wa ahl al-'Utuf*).[18] He added that these deluded people had forgotten that they were prisoners in the hands of the French. When the uprising was met with cannon and firearms the "common people jabbered senselessly and behaved heedlessly ... they fabricated all sorts of lies."[19] We can see that Jabarti did not feel the least bit of sympathy for rebellion, not only because he believed it doomed to fail, but also because he disapproved of rebellion in general, as did most *'ulama'*, and feared the masses and their "heedless" behavior which might lead to chaos. So long as the *'ulama'* controlled the masses and ordered their behavior, even calling them out to demonstrate when they felt it necessary, that was fine, but when the masses took the bit between their teeth, then the latent fear of *fitna*, chaos, reared its head.

Niqula wrote about the feelings of the Egyptians regarding the occupation, especially as it affected the behavior of women, because he could identify with such feelings, but only on that specific subject. After all, the Lebanese were as sensitive to insults to their women as were the Egyptians, or to feelings that their women were being used by the French. Jabarti appears to have been too offended by the women's behavior to mention it in his first version, but he did do so in some detail in his *'Aja'ib al-Athar*. Niqula wrote, "The presence of the French in Cairo was very difficult (*sa'ab jiddan*) for the Egyptians, for they saw their women and daughters with their faces uncovered, possessed by the French (*mamlukin*

[17] *Ibid.*, 116/25a.

[18] *Ibid.*, 93/18a.

[19] *Ibid.*

min al-afranj), walking with them in the streets, sleeping and living in their houses. They almost died at such sights, let alone the wine shops that sprang up in all the *suqs* of the city and even in some of its mosques."[20]

Jabarti simply mentioned the behavior of some women whom he referred to as belonging to the lower classes and worse, and referred to two women of a different class in his *'Aja'ib al-Athar*. One was Shaykh al-Bakri's daughter. Jabarti concluded his reference to her consorting with the French by adding that she got her neck broken for her lewd conduct.

Niqula realized that the occupation was a boon for the working classes, for he had no personal interest in the economy or in the classes, but was able to describe what he saw, and he clearly saw that some among the working classes did benefit from the presence of an army of occupation. These were "the sellers, porters, donkey boys, artisans, pimps and prostitutes, in brief, the dregs of the population were delighted with the occupation because of the freedom it allowed them"[21] and, no doubt, the opportunity it provided them for making money. Jabarti could only regard such opportunism with contcmpt.

Niqula continued to remark that the elites and the middle classes suffered because trade and commerce were suspended. That was much lamented by Jabarti, who was among those who suffered from the lack of trade.

When the French finally evacuated Egypt and were replaced by the Ottomans, the mamluks confiscated all food supplies directed towards the capital from the countryside, so that food became scarce in Cairo. The native population then took to insulting the mamluks, saying "It would have been better had you never come to Egypt since you are determined to starve us ... we intend to pillage your houses and eat after your death."[22] The mamluks pretended they heard nothing, since they had no intention of changing their behavior, for "they had no pity for the unfortunates, such was the hardness of their hearts."[23] It is in such descriptions that Niqula revealed his sympathy for those in power, and his lack of sympathy for the Egyptians, who were on the receiving end of exploitation. "The inhabitants of Egypt are of large numbers and little toughness. They are capricious in their feelings, have bitter tongues and hurtful expressions, they fear but are

[20] Wiet, *Nicolas Turc*, 45/31.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*, 196/154.

[23] *Ibid.*

not shamed and they hate the rule of the mamluks. The latter knew that and therefore wished them evil and calamities, but failed to understand that rightful rulers and just governors should show magnanimity and conciliation even if the subjects be shameless/vicious (*al-ra'aya fajira*)."[24] This reference to the hurtful tongues of the Egyptians sounds as though he had been the object of some of these hurtful expressions. Elsewhere one detects his love of the powerful by his description of the mamluks' defeat at the hands of Muhammad 'Ali on April 4, 1804. He wrote "the mamluks fought with hatred in their hearts against the troops and the population of Cairo, for they had experienced their treachery, their perfidy and their duplicity, their carelessness towards private homes and the stores which they had pillaged, and their lack of respect for the families which they had molested. These mamluks were remarkable men, endowed with an energy that none could resist in the battlefield ..." Then follows a panegyric towards the mamluks and their rule even though he mentioned in passing their "ever increasing tyranny."[25] He later gave equal praise to Muhammad 'Ali. Thus one can say that Niqula consistently praised whoever possessed power and showed an admiration for warlike qualities. He had little pity to spare for the population which suffered the depredations of the mamluks. They were instead faulted because they pillaged the houses of those who had pillaged an entire country. He showed the same contempt as Jabarti for the masses, yet it derived from a different source. Niqula's contempt was based on admiration for the powerful and the mighty, his would-be patrons.

Jabarti's contempt was based on the lack of logic, the chaotic and base motives that he read into popular movements. He despised chaos because he saw danger in civil disobedience, and he identified with his own class. He criticized the mamluks for their abuse of the Egyptians and their exploitation of society, but that abuse was based on the assumption that things had been better at other times, times when the mamluks had heeded the advice of the *'ulama'*. But then they had gone astray and the result was misrule. This was a notion that quite clearly fitted in with his own world view of a society that was felicitous when it followed the *shari'a*, and went wrong when the rulers followed their own self-interest. With such a world view it would make little sense to see virtue in French government, but made sense in seeing virtue in the French love of learning, and especially French interest in matters dealing with Islam.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*, 253/195.

In conclusion, one might add that both historians gave us valuable insights into a society occupied by an alien force. Jabarti told us more about the Egyptian ruling elite, Niqula more about the invaders. Jabarti described the inner workings of the administration, Niqula was either uninterested or ignorant of their implications, except for the most obvious ones. Jabarti saw little to admire in the French save for their learning, while Niqula saw much to admire in their valorous leaders. In a sense, one author complemented the other, for one work was written from within and with the biases of the oppressed, the other was written from without with the biases of a sycophant, one who also understood the working classes in some measure, but who admired those who wielded authority and power.

There are a number of other differences in the two works which I have not brought out, but might mention in passing. Jabarti recounted the major events that struck him at the time as worth reporting, such as high or low Niles, amazing events such as the behavior of a woman mystic who dressed like a man and followed a male mystic around, popular beliefs and superstitions, the lives of those deceased, etc. Niqula was not particularly involved in these evcnts, save in so far as they affected the behavior of rulers. In one sensc one can say that Niqula's work is more homogenous and coherent than Jabarti's. He had a theme and a goal and he built on that theme, narrating it with the goal of informing his patron in Lebanon. Jabarti wanted to include everything that caught his eye and his imagination, so that his work, though more interesting, is also more frustrating to read since it is a hodge-podge of *akhbar*, *ʿaja'ib*, biographies, histories, and current events that give fascinating but haphazard insights of a political, economic and social nature.

THE FRENCH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN THE WORKS OF AL-JABARTI

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In traditional Orientalist historiography the French Revolution and the beginnings of a new era in the Middle East are conveniently linked together through the French expedition to Egypt. The expedition and its members are seen—and certainly saw themselves—as the carriers of the ideas of the Revolution. Supposedly the Egyptians then received these ideas, began to understand, and gradually adopted them. To prove the point, passages from al-Jabarti's works are usually quoted. Often the work of Niqula al-Turk is also mentioned.[1]

We are certainly fortunate that we have the reports of the famous contemporary Egyptian historian ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti. They deal explicitly and at length with the French occupation of 1798-1801. I believe in a world history context al-Jabarti's work is truly unique. It is the first detailed chronicle of and reflection upon the encounter of an expanding modern Europe with non-European traditional societies—as seen from the non-European pcrspective.

Al-Jabarti's reports about the French invasion show remarkable accuracy and intelligent insights. Their value is heightened by the fact that we have three different versions of them written at different times so that we can actually gain some insight into the thinking processes of the author himself. These circumstances, however, might also have misled most Orientalists when interpreting the role of these reports for the history of the Middle East. Because of their uniqueness the reports are, as they should be, at the center of any discussion of the early reception of modern Europe in the Arab Middle East. But they have been used for sweeping and untenable generalizations. On the one hand we learn that "(the Arabs) rather than being attracted by her (Europe's) secularism, failed even to perceive it."[2] On the other hand, we hear that "most significantly, the Arab intellectual

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[1] See, for instance, Raif al-Khuri, *Modern Arab Thought* (Princeton: 1983), 11, "The first and probably most important channel through which the French Revolution came to the Arab East ..."

[2] Ibrahim Abu Lughod, *The Arab Rediscovery of Europe* (Princeton: 1963), 159.

spokesmen, including al-Jabarti ... were familiar with the basic facts of the French Revolution, its concepts, and its secular nature."[3]

Who were, at the time, the other Arab intellectual spokesmen except Niqula al-Turk and perhaps ʿAbdallah Sharqawi who expressed at all an opinion about the French Revolution? Here it should be pointed out that we have no knowledge as to what "the Egyptians" or "the Arabs" thought of the French Revolution or whether, indeed, they knew anything of it. We know of popular reactions in terms of riots against the French and responses filtered through the reports of contemporary observers. All signs point to a firm perception of the French in terms of religion, in terms of *Dar al-Harb* and *Dar al-Islam*, in terms of Crusader memories. Only very rarely do we catch a glimpse of a more popular interest through such marginal notes as that of M. Mishaqa in his memoirs. He tells of a handwritten copy of an Arab translation of Volney's *Ruins of Empire* which was circulating in Damiette in the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1818 he read this translation with great agitation and went through a "religious crisis." But it seems that this text circulated only among the Syrian Christian immigrants in Damiette—not a very representative group of the Egyptian population.[4] In talking about the perception of and reaction to the French Revolution we have to restrict ourselves to the written testimony of the time, which is certainly too limited to permit sweeping generalizations.

Al-Jabarti's reports are often perceived as the first link to and transmitter of the ideas of modern Europe. A straight line of intellectual development and evolution of political consciousness is then drawn from such beginnings to the revolutionary upheavals in the Middle East in the 20th century.

In his *Arab Rediscovery of Europe* Ibrahim Abu Lughod insists on the importance of the proclamations issued by the French expedition as an "important vehicle through which European ideas and concepts were introduced."[5] But he qualifies this observation later when he comments that al-Jabarti tended to ignore the political concepts of the revolution."[6] A few years later Zolondek responded in an article trying to prove that al-Jabarti (and with him "the Arab intellectual spokesmen") were quite aware of the content of the French Revolution and understood its meaning. Later in the same article, though, he seems to contradict himself when he says that the Arab world of the 1830-1870's was not made aware of the "philosophical

[3]Leon Zolondek, "The French Revlution in Arabic Literature of the Nineteenth Century," *The Muslim World* LVII (1967), 205.

[4]M. Mishaqa, *Muntakhabat min al-Jawab ʿala ʿIqtirah al-Ahbab* (Beirut: 1955), 65.

[5]Abu Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery*, 12.

[6]*Ibid.*, 23.

basis (of the French Revolution), its emotion, its symbolism, nor its significance for the course of world history."[7] Zolondek does not refer any more in this context to al-Jabarti but blames basically Niqula al-Turk, Haydar Ahmad al-Shihabi, al-Tahtawi, Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi and others for not tackling the issues. He overlooks the fact that, whatever the quality of the intellectual discourse of these authors, only al-Tahtawi's work, published in 1835 in Cairo, could have left an impression upon the Arabic speaking educated classes, while Niqula's report was published in 1839, but only in Paris, and al-Shihabi's work was not published until 1933.

In fact, al-Jabarti's work, too, was not published until half a century after his death, that is, its influence upon the contemporary intellectual scene was only minuscule. But quite apart from this circumstance and in spite of the persuasive linking of the dissemination of the ideas of the French Revolution in the Middle East with the writings of al-Jabarti on the French expedition, it seems justified and necessary to investigate the texts and ask ourselves anew the simple questions: What did al-Jabarti think of the French Revolution? What, indeed, did he know about it and the French? Through what channels did he obtain his knowledge and could his report have had the function of transmitting the ideas of the French Revolution to the Arab-Muslim public?

The first observation is commonplace but nevertheless of decisive importance. The mode of encounter with the French Revolution differed profoundly in the case of Istanbul and the Turkish speaking intelligentsia on the one side and of the Arabic speaking intellectuals in Egypt or Syria on the other. As Bernard Lewis has shown already many years ago,[8] in the Ottoman capital contacts with the French had been well established before the Revolution, continued during the Revolution and after short interruptions were resumed again. Ottoman embassies had been sent before the Revolution to France and soon some Turkish individuals mastered the French language to report directly.

The contrast to the situation in Egypt could not be starker. Without forewarning, the French expedition arrived, conquered and ruled the country for over two years. We are fortunate to have al-Jabarti's eyewitness report to understand the shock and the drama this event carried for the Egyptian observer. Today it is generally accepted that the three different drafts of his report were composed in the following chronological order: *Ta'rikh Muddat al-Faransis bi Misr*, 1798; *Mazhar al-Taqdis bi Zawal Dawlat al-Faransis*,

[7]Zolondek, "The French Revolution," 207.

[8]B. Lewis, "The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey," *Journal of World History* I (1953), 105-125.

Dec. 1801; and *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar fi ʾl-Tarajim wa ʾl-Akhbar*, 1805/6.[9] The three versions of the description of the French occupation, written at different times for different purposes have been used to show that al-Jabarti's attitude toward the French improved over the years as chaos descended upon Egypt after their withdrawal. Proof is found in the reduction of curses and of unfriendly epitaphs and comments when al-Jabarti talks about the French and in the description of his visit to the French Institute which he had suppressed in the earlier *al-Mazhar* version.[10] Here a "profound if not complete change in his attitude" is being recognized together with an objective change in al-Jabarti's outlook as the result of a "psychological crisis which the author underwent", itself supposedly a result of the cultural confrontation posed by the Napoleonic (sic) campaign in Egypt.

In the best case a count of curses covering the *kuffar* and proof of their later reduction remains an inconclusive indicator for al-Jabarti's attitudes towards the French. There are many examples where already in *Mazhar* al-Jabarti gives the French their due. Following a break-in robbery in the house of a Muslim and a murder by French soldiers, for instance, Bonaparte feels very distressed about such disgraceful behavior and has the culprit executed.[11] On the other hand, in *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar* al-Jabarti still compares the nature of the French with that of the lower classes, namely those inclined toward buffoonery and licentiousness.[12]

More important is the dropping of the lengthy passage of al-Jabarti's acid commentary on the first proclamation of Bonaparte. This commentary appears in the very first version, *Taʾrikh Muddat al-Fransis*, as well as in *Mazhar*, the second version, but disappeared in the third one, *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*. Perhaps we can shed some light on this development by comparing it with other similar eliminations of comments. The most remarkable is the one he gives after the devastation and desecration of al-Azhar by the French troops.[13] In *Mazhar*, after describing the scene of destruction, he writes, "They did in al-Azhar mosque things that were not reprehensible to them, since they are the enemies of religion, victorious enemies, gloating adversaries, raving hyenaes, a different sort of people, a pigheaded

[9] S. Moreh, ed. and trans., *Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt* (Leiden: 1975), 18; Muhammad Mahmud al-Suruji, "ʿAjaʾib al-Athar wa Mazhar al-Taqdis," in *ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti* (Cairo: Egyptian Society for Historical Research, 1974), 223.

[10] See I.K. Poonawala, "The Evolution of al-Gabarti's Historical Thinking as Reflected in the Muzhir and the Agaʾib," *Arabica* XV (1968), 270-278.

[11] *Mazhar*, 126; *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, II, 38-39.

[12] *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, III, 40.

[13] *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, III, 27; *Mazhar*, 100.

phenomena. During this night the army of God yielded to the army of the devil, because of the turpitude to which it stuck and because of abandoning the right path." This comment is dropped in *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar* but the description of the horror and outrage which the French committed in al-Azhar remains *verbatim*. There is certainly no attempt to embellish the French behavior, but al-Jabarti is willing to let the facts speak for themselves. In both versions al-Jabarti comments that "the injustice and obduracy of the infidels continued and they wreaked their vengeance on the Muslims."[14] On another occasion al-Jabarti reproduces a letter of Bonaparte to the diwan in which the latter claims to be endowed by God with authority to rule over Egypt. In *Mazhar* this is occasion for long comments about the arrogance of the unbeliever. In the later version only the document itself is given. If al-Jabarti underwent a change in the time between writing *Mazhar* and *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar* it is that he became a more professional chronicler/historian concerned with the facts and restraining, though not always successfully, his own opinions. But it would be unfounded to assume that these changes in the text represent a *crise de conscience* which made him look with more sympathy at the French.

Al-Jabarti's description of the French Institute in *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar* is given as more evidence for a positive attitude acquired in later years since the scene is totally missing in *Mazhar*. But in fact he had written it down already in the first version, *Taʾrikh Muddat al-Fransis*. In this first version he gave not quite as many details as in *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar* but the tenor of his description was positive. Already in *Taʾrikh Muddat al-Fransis* he observed, "I have gone to it (the French Institute) many times."[15] (Even had he not written the first version, the historical fact remains that at the time of the French occupation al-Jabarti did visit the Institute). On the basis of this description Braune has attributed to al- Jabarti "die Kraft sich zu wundern", the ability to be moved rather than to remain indifferent toward the new, that the French had to offer.[16] Did al-Jabarti then appreciate the French from the very beginning? It seems to be the wrong question. A scholar himself, he knew a good library when he saw one and appreciated an interest in learning, wherever and by whosoever it was expressed. He was, however, not impressed in the sense that he believed that the French ideas and thinking in any way challenged the validity of Islam. On the contrary, the fact that the French had Arabic dictionaries, books about the Prophet, and other Muslim literature could only confirm the centrality of Muslim learning. Al-Jabarti's interest lay typically with the humanities. The

[14] *Mazhar*, 103; *ʿAjaʾib al-Athar*, III, 27.

[15] *Taʾrikh Muddat al-Fransis*, 25a.

[16] W. Braune, *Der islamische Orient zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft* (Munich: 1960), 40.

scientific experiments of the French interested him only marginally. For the sake of completeness he described their chemical experiments and provided us with the first description in Arabic of the effects of electricity. But, principally, these performances remained for him part of black magic. He did not, and could not, perceive that behind these experiments stood a revolutionary new concept of scientific thinking. When the much touted experiment of the French to float a hot air ballon failed he could not hide a certain satisfaction and observed that flying kites—as he saw it—was the sort of thing that in Cairo servants would do to amuse themselves on holidays. His approach to and appreciation of French learning was that of a traditional Muslim *'alim* who, as a chronicler of high professional standards, made, however, great efforts to report as objectively and soberly about all developments and phenomena—be they for better or worse.

To suppress the description of his visit to the French Institute in *Mazhar* was for al-Jabarti politically the right thing to do. After all, *Mazhar* was a report written for the Ottomans and it would have been unwise for the author to show too close a contact with the enemy. *Mazhar* was a political document addressed to the Ottoman government; hence it is brimming with praise for the Ottomans in general and the arriving governor in particular. Actually al-Jabarti agreed with Bonaparte's analyses of the reasons for the decay of Egypt: mismanagement, incompetence and corruption of preceding governments. But he had to go through considerable contortions to show that only the Ottoman government was an exception to the general rule of decay in Egypt. It is well to take these passages with a grain of salt. If he left them out of *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, it does not reflect a more even handed attitude toward or a greater appreciation of the French and not necessarily a turn against the Ottomans. Omitting these passages simply meant that *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, a general history of Egypt, had a different function than that of *Mazhar*, a political report requested by the government.

It should also be clear from the preceding that al-Jabarti's critical comments about the French in *Mazhar* did not result from his "nationalist spirit" as has been claimed.[17] They had political meaning in the Ottoman context and—not surprisingly—were all couched in religious terms and stemmed from a deeply rooted religious world view.

To summarize, it does not seem likely that al-Jabarti underwent any profound change in attitude toward the French. He showed from the beginning an admiration for their scholarship and their adherence to legal procedures.[18] But they were, and remained, infidels. Their occupation of Egypt was an unmitigated disaster, as his lament introducing the year 1213

[17] Jamal al-Din Shayyal, *al-Ta'rikh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhun fi Misr fi 'l-Qarn al-Tasi' 'Ashar* (Cairo: 1958), 27.

[18] See H. Motzki, *Dimma und Egalitè* (Bonn: 1979), 324.

A.H. in *'Aja'ib al-Athar* shows. If in the later version we encounter less personal commentary by al-Jabarti it reflects only his greater professionalism. The difference between *Mazhar* and *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, in so far as it cannot be attributed to this growing professionalism, must be understood as a reflection of the difference in function of these two documents.

Connected with attitudes toward the French is the question of what al-Jabarti actually knew about them or, more specifically, about the French Revolution and its background. The dominant knowledge of al-Jabarti was the traditional one. The French were unbelievers from outside the Muslim world. This insight remained the basic theme in all his reflections about the French. The fact that they occasionally performed remarkable or even laudable feats could not detract from this basic fact.

Al-Jabarti had a rough notion about the rivalry between the English and the French and the role Egypt might play as the sole (sic!) access to India. He understood that the French occupation of Egypt was part of a power struggle between France and England. Yet, most remarkable is that al-Jabarti, who had included these observations in his first version, did not deem it necessary to include them in the *'Aja'ib al-Athar*. The history of *Dar al-Harb* remained principally detached from and ultimately irrelevant for that of Egypt and the Muslim *umma*.[19]

Al-Jabarti had only a very vague idea about the actual historical events of the French Revolution. At the occasion of the fête the French gave on the anniversary of the Republic he mentioned briefly and erroneously that this was the day they executed their sultan and contrived their own heretical order which differed from that of all other people.[20] Interestingly enough, this information is again reduced in *'Aja'ib al-Athar* to the mere observation that this was the day of the foundation of their republic.[21]

In *Mazhar* and *Ta'rikh Muddat al-Fransis* al-Jabarti displays some knowledge of the French form of government. They have no sultan who could speak for them, but they decided that their government should be in the hands of the wise and intelligent people. He recognized that they based their system on the assumption of *egalité*, though "sometimes they break this rule according to their whims and inclinations."[22] Immediately after discussing this political aspect al-Jabarti speaks about the barbaric French ways of defecating and copulating. This juxtaposition of topics speaks for itself. In the earlier version he also gave his explicit opinion about this

[19] See *Ta'rikh Muddat al-Fransis*, 10b.

[20] *Mazhar*, 60; *Ta'rikh Muddat al-Fransis*, 46.

[21] *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, III, 17.

[22] *Ta'rikh Muddat al-Fransis*, 3b–4a.

strange idea of equality. "How can this be when God has made some superior to others as is testified by the dwellers in the Heavens and on Earth."[23]

Al-Jabarti seems to have drawn his information mainly from the proclamation itself. His knowledge does not compare with that displayed in a memorandum of the same time drafted in Istanbul by the *reis-ül-küttab* Ahmad Atif Efendi, who traces the intellectual origins of the Revolution to Voltaire and Rousseau. He, too, sees the anti-religious element in the revolutionary message but perceives much better than al-Jabarti its anti-establishment character challenging the authority of god and king.[24] He is aware of its appeal in style and content to the common people.

But whatever al-Jabarti knew of the Revolution, his disapproval of these ideas could not have been more eloquent. He also made perfectly clear that this was a man-made political order by people who did not believe in god but only their own reason. They were *dahriyyun*, materialists, or rather atheists. It was an order that they had invented, heretically contrived.[25] Finally, it is important to note that nowhere in his work does al-Jabarti express the thought—or the fear—that these ideas could be of any relevance for his own society.

In *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, al-Jabarti does not even discuss the ideas of the French Revolution anymore. But as the historian of high professional standards that he is he includes the French documents that might mention these ideas. Written documents are for him historical facts to be included in a general history of Egypt. But even in *'Aja'ib al-Athar* he warns the reader that he includes such documents only to "show the false ideas and presumptions it contains, what reason and experience pronounce to be false."[26]

It is perhaps necessary to consider for a moment these documents, proclamations, and announcements issued by the French and addressed to the Egyptian population. Al-Jabarti reproduced many of them in his work. It seems that they were the major, probably even only, channel through which al-Jabarti learned about the political thinking, the goals and the ideas of the French. He did not read French books and we have not the slightest hint that

[23] *Mazhar*, 39.

[24] For the translation of the memorandum about the French Revolution by the *reis ul-küttab* see Bernard Lewis, 121.

[25] *Ibtada'uhu*. See also A. Ayalon, *Language and Change in the Arab East* (Oxford: 1987), 101.

[26] *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, III, 37; and III, 87, when he writes of a document: "Thus it ends word for word, with its mistakes and distortions, exactly as published in Arabic by the French press. I have not changed any of it ..."

he discussed the ideas of the French Revolution with any Arabic speaking member of the French army.

The most famous of these proclamations is certainly the first one Bonaparte had distributed upon landing in Egypt. It is worth quoting at some length.

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no God but God. He has no son and no companion in his sovereignty. On behalf of France, which was built on the foundations of freedom and equality—the Commander in Chief of the French armies, Bonaparte, informs the inhabitants of Egypt that the Sanjaqs, who hold sway over the land of Egypt, have for a long time treated the right of the French nation with disgrace and contempt. They have oppressed her merchants with all sorts of injury and offense. Now the hour of their punishment has come ... Egyptians! They may tell you that I came here solely to abolish your religion, but this is a patent lie. Do not believe it. Tell these slanderers that I came only to restore your rights from the hand of the oppressors, and that I am more of a servant of God—may he be praised and exalted—than the Mamluks, and that I venerate His Prophet and the great Qur'an. Tell them also that all men are equal before God ... With His sublime help, henceforth no inhabitant of Egypt shall despair of obtaining high offices and achieving exalted stations; for the learned, the virtuous, and the inteligent among them will direct affairs, and thus the welfare of the whole nation will be improved ... Tell your nation that the French, too, are sincere Muslims. Proof of this is that they descended upon Rome the Great and destroyed the Papal See...[27]

These proclamations were first and foremost political statements of the French occupational forces and not scholarly treatises on the French Revolution. In other words, they were a poor means for learning about the events and ideas of the Revolution. They used slogans of the Revolution together with other claims and selfserving statements to promote the aims of the occupational forces. A man of the intellectual acumen of al-Jabarti could easily recognize these statements for what they were. Bonaparte was keenly aware of the need to win "the hearts and the minds" of the Muslims and tried in words and deeds to project himself as a friend of the Muslims if not as a Muslim himself.[28] For the population at large these attempts remained unconvincing. Or, as Niqula al-Turk, the other contemporary observer, wrote, Bonaparte's profession of love for Islam and his promise to build

[27] *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, III, 4-5.

[28] See F. Charles-Roux, "La Politique Musulmane de Bonaparte," *Napoleon, Revue des Etudes Napoleoniennes* XXIV (1925), 23-47. See also Motzki, Kap. III, Teil 2.

mosques did not convince the Egyptians, who recognized his ulterior motives and for whom he remained "a Christian, son of a Christian."[29] The learned Muslim knew that attacks on the Pope, Christianity, and the concept of the Trinity made the French atheists, not Muslims. All witnessed that in a crisis the French did not hesitate to desecrate al-Azhar in the most shocking manner. The self-serving character of professions of love for Islam was obvious.

The French talk about equality was not only absurd because it ran counter to God's way of arranging this creation but clearly it was meant only as a slogan, for even the French did not adhere to this principle and were far from treating the Egyptian population as equals. If they proclaimed that only the best and wisest should hold public offices al-Jabarti had no objections. But they themselves, he pointed out, broke their rules when they hired and promoted people from the rabble like Bartholomy, the Greek soldier of fortune.

Even in *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, where al-Jabarti had restrained his own comments and displayed great soberness, he could not suppress a sarcastic comment about a passage in a proclamation where the French claim to have acted only in the interest of the Egyptian people when liberating them from oppression and to have never interfered in the internal affairs of the Egyptians.[30]

References to the ideals and aims of the French Revolution were juxtaposed in these proclamations with unbelievable statements about the identification of the French with Islam and obvious selfserving political lies. No wonder that al-Jabarti received them all with the same scepticism and treated them for what they were in this context, a means to gain political control over Egypt. As far as I can see, al-Jabarti was only once positively impressed by a pamphlet, which he actually did not intend to read because if its "length and poor style." This was the publication describing the trial of Sulayman, the assassin of General Kléber. Al-Jabarti quite frankly admired the sober legal procedure applied by the French during the trial. He compared it—not with Muslim law—but with the "deeds of the riff-raff, of soldiers claiming to be Muslims and fighters of the holy war who killed people and destroyed human lives merely to satisfy their animal passion."[31] As a learned theologian/jurist of Islam al-Jabarti had a great appreciation for the correct application of law, regardless of who applied it.

The other major channel through which al-Jabarti could gather information about the French, the French Revolution, and its contents were

[29]Niqula al-Turk, *Mudhakkirat*, ed. and trans. by Gaston Wiet (Cairo: 1950), 78.

[30]*'Aja'ib al-Athar*, III, 23.

[31]*Ibid.*, III, 117.

the diwans established by the French. The establishment of a diwan was already implied in the first proclamation of Bonaparte, which read, "the learned, the virtuous, and the intelligent among them will direct their affairs ..." Later the French returned to this point and claimed "you, members of the diwan should guide the people to what is right."[32] and also: "We made you people whose word was listened to and whose mediation was accepted. You made us believe that the people submit to you and follow your orders ..."[33] The last claim, though, was clearly disingenuous because early on the shaykhs of the diwan had warned the French that only Turks could exact obedience from the population.[34]

The official function of the French-organized diwan was to rule the country and to represent the nation—hence also the attempt to recognize the authority of the diwan and to include representatives from other cities in Egypt. In fact it was a body convened and dissolved at the pleasure of the French. As a rule, meetings were not initiated by the members themselves, but were called by the French Commander-in-Chief.

Nevertheless, the diwan fulfilled important functions. It was the major link between the occupier and the occupied. Even after Bonaparte had dissolved it in reaction to the first Cairene uprising he saw himself forced to reestablish it.[35] For the French the diwan was an important sounding board for their administrative and political designs in Egypt. They at least tried to obtain the consensus and agreement of the diwan on certain issues.

The diwan also played the role of an intermediary conveying orders and proclamations of the French to the population. But by accepting this task and often adding their own signature (voluntarily or not) to the French orders, the shaykhs of the diwan provided such orders, indeed the whole French regime, with a certain degree of legitimacy. This functional aspect becomes even clearer when the French demand, for instance, a certain sum of money as taxation, but leave it to the members of the diwan how to distribute the financial burden among the various sectors of society. Yet it always remained clear who was really in charge. The French did not hesitate to lock up the members of the diwan—without permitting even access to the toilets—until the latter decided matters as the French demanded.[36]

This ambivalent position of the members of the diwan—on the one hand they were declared the rulers of the country, on the other hand they

[32]*Ibid.*, III, 73.

[33]*Ibid.*, III, 106.

[34]*Ibid.*, III, 11.

[35]After all, even though it was created by Bonaparte himself, it was the only institution, the only "address" he could turn to when dealing with the Egyptian people.

[36]*'Aja'ib al-Athar*, III, 106.

were the instruments for implementing French rule—expressed itself in many ways and must have been obvious to the members themselves. Most telling in this context is the fact that al-Jabarti never mentions his own membership in one of the later diwans under Menou. We can only speculate on the reasons for his membership, whether, for instance, he was drafted to it after the second uprising in Cairo as one who had been critical of these events. Considering that al-Jabarti freely admitted to having visited the French institute, the fact of concealing his membership in the diwan acquires even more weight.

The ambivalence of the *'ulama'* concerning their collaboration with the French is perhaps best demonstrated in the anecdote about the *cocarde*. When Bonaparte demanded emphatically that the shaykhs should wear the *cocarde* a confrontation seemed imminent since they refused to obey. Finally the Shaykh al-Sadat found the solution to the problem. He wore the *cocarde* in the presence of the French but took it off as soon as he left their residence.[37] In a complete misinterpretation of the attitude of the shaykhs, Bonaparte believed even years later that his morning audiences with the shaykhs had made them inclined toward him. He was convinced that the *'ulama'* appreciated the fact that the French had enhanced their power and that they believed God's blessings rested upon Bonaparte. He could even observe how "the faces of the *'ulama'* glow" when he talked about Egypt in patriotic terms.[38]

The authority of the members of the diwan was also shaky within the population. They were not able to prevent uprisings and when trying to mediate between the French and the rebels they were accused by the latter of having apostazised and being in the pay of the French.[39]

This sketch of the diwan, its role and image, makes it evident that it was not the institution which could have convincingly conveyed to the Egyptians ideas about the sovereignty of the people, representation, delegation of power, etc. As in the case of the proclamations, the terminology of the French Revolution was used to a certain degree but the aim to implement political and military control over the Egyptian population was obvious. The diwan was the invention of the French and served their purpose. As al-Jabarti himself observed, "They laid down for this diwan evil, heretical rules and principles. They set stipulations within stipulations in incomprehensible phrases. The purpose of it was trickery to exact money ..."[40]

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[37] *Ibid.*, III, 16.

[38] H. Conrad, ed. and trans., *Napoleons Leben* (Stuttgart: 1911), Vol. III, 204-205.

[39] *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, III, 99.

[40] *Ibid.*, 19.

Al-Jabarti's contemporary and colleague, Niqula al-Turk, provides us with another important description of the Arab encounter with the French. His report about the occupation is as detailed as that of al-Jabarti. In fact, some long passages of great, almost *verbatim*, similarity raise the tantalizing question whether they shared the same sources. Yet, it is also evident that Niqula writes much more from the vantage point of the province (Damiette), while al-Jabarti is more intimately familiar with the affairs of Cairo. Niqula also probably had better access to inside information about the French army than al-Jabarti did. It has been correctly observed that Niqula's different background, Greek Catholic from Mount Lebanon, made him more sympathetically inclined toward the French. It is also easy to see that for Niqula the French occupation was not such a calamity as for the Egyptian Muslim *'alim*, al-Jabarti. But he is far from seeing the French as liberators. He no doubt had close contacts with the French and easy access to them. This, however, never blinded him to the less savory aspects of their presence in the Middle East: making life intolerable for the Muslims, rebellion among the French troops who felt betrayed by their superiors, or the cruel conquest of Jaffa by the French troops. On the whole, he draws a rather sober picture of the occupation. Nowhere does he make himself the advocate of the French case. In contrast to al-Jabarti, he knows more about the French and gives a well informed report on the background of the French Revolution. One can even get an inkling from his report of the dynamism and potential of this revolution, since the kings of Europe are afraid their subjects might reach conclusions similar to that of the French people.

In contrast to al-Jabarti, Niqula includes in his report much more of the events outside the Muslim world that are relevant to it. For instance, he treats in much greater detail the role the British played in the reconquest of Egypt. But even events that are not of immediate import to Egypt, *e.g.* Bonaparte's assuming the title and position of emperor, find their way into his work. Niqula shows beginnings of a world history concept, while al-Jabarti's frame of reference is still firmly rooted in the traditional Muslim world view.[41]

But what role does the Revolution actually play in Niqula al-Turk's thinking? Here the answer must be more cautious. When he reflects about the animosity between the Egyptians and the French he cites as reasons differences in religion, language and customs, in addition to the hostilities during the Crusades, and he reminds us of the origin of the name of Mansura. In other words, he develops here a very traditional picture of religious loyalties and conflicts. Like al-Jabarti, he perceives a basic

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[41] See T. Philipp, "Class, Community, and Arab Historiography," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* XVI (1984), 161-175.

struggle between the Muslim *umma* and infidels. Because of this he understands very well the Muslim resentment against the infidel occupiers and understands that any French declaration of appreciation for Islam is not convincing. Thus he tells us that General Menou's conversion to Islam had not brought him closer to the Egyptians who recognized only flattery and hypocrisy in this move.

Like al-Jabarti, he also is not surprised that Copts and Syrian Christians collaborate with the French. He shares with al-Jabarti a world view profoundly determined by religion. What is glaringly absent from his report is any discussion of the ideas of the French Revolution or identifications with them. The new political order, or its possible meaning for Middle Eastern society, is not mentioned. The French presence in Egypt is never discussed in the context of the Revolution. Niqula certainly never testifies to the impact of these ideas on the Egyptian population except their outright rejection—on the basis of religion—of anything identified with the French.[42]

As the short comparison with Niqula al-Turk shows, al-Jabarti's *Weltbild* was very typical for that of the traditional society of the Middle East at the time and even—*grosso modo*—shared by the Christians of the Middle East. The high quality of his report and his professionalism as a chronicler should not be mistaken for a sympathetic view of the French or the French Revolution. The variations and differences in the three versions of his report on the French occupation must be understood in the functional context of each version and perhaps as a reflection of his increasing professionalism as a chronicler. The postulated (sympathetic) change of his attitudes toward the French cannot be confirmed by a careful reading of the texts. If any change occurred at all, it was rather a lessening of interest in the history of the French Revolution and its contents.

The Muslim *'alim* al-Jabarti, steeped in traditional learning and faith, would have been a most unlikely advocate of French revolutionary ideas. As a matter of fact, the whole French expedition, with its self-serving proclamations, was an unfit channel for the transmission of the ideational contents of the French Revolution and cannot be considered as the initiator of social or political change in Egypt. Only a generation later, after the rule of Muhammad 'Ali had brought about profound economic and political changes in Egypt, did a new group of Egyptian intellectuals find genuine access to the ideas of the French Revolution.

[42]See Niqula, *passim*, and especially 35-36, 123.

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